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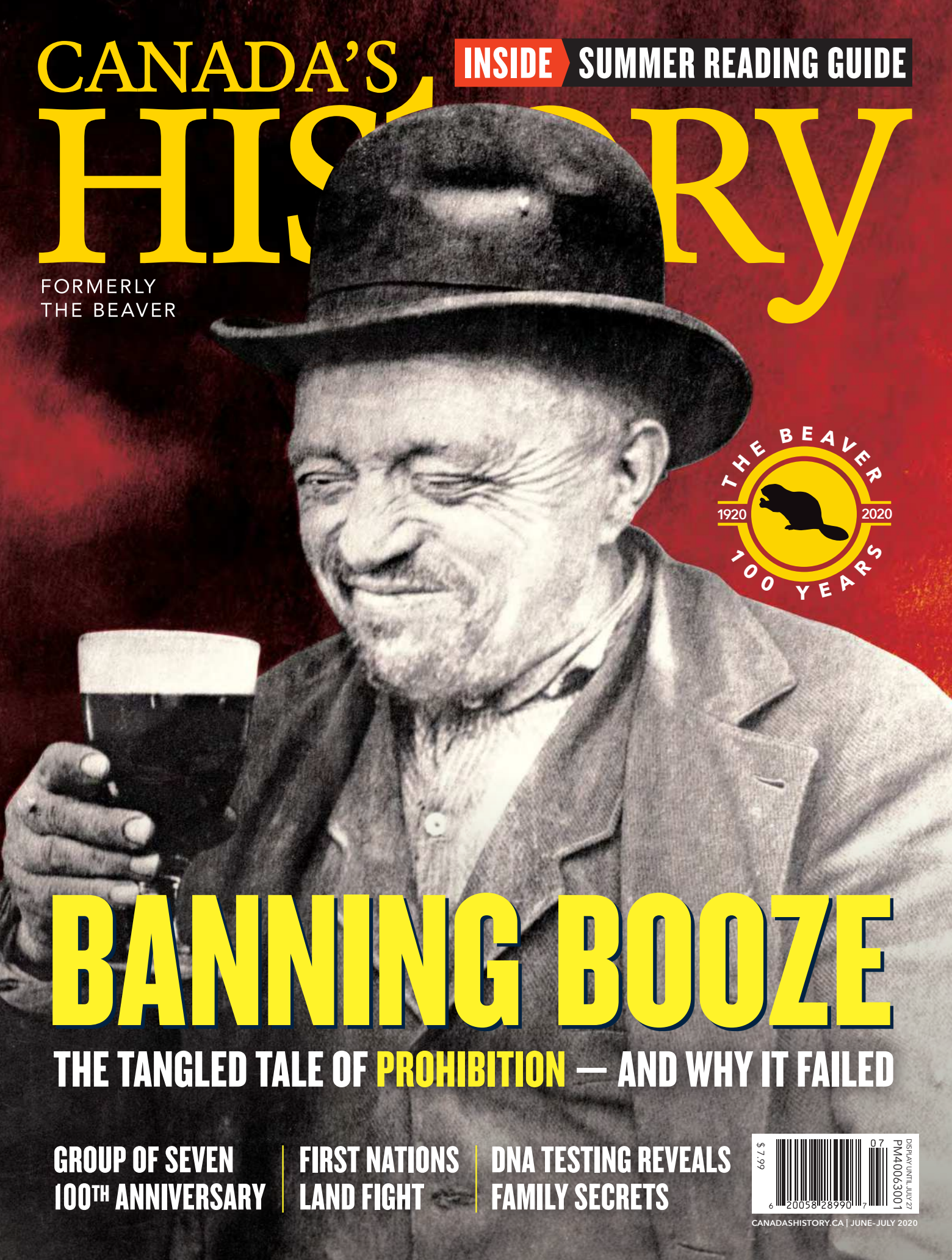

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On the cover

A man in Quebec enjoys a pint of beer, circa early twentieth century. The photo was taken by William B. Edwards, a British immigrant to Quebec who founded a photo studio in Montreal in 1917.

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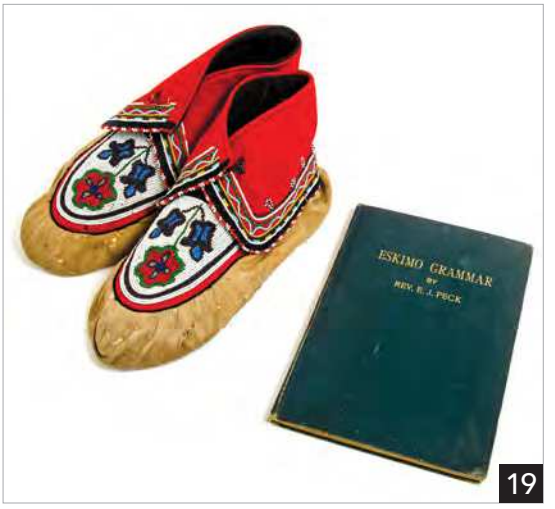

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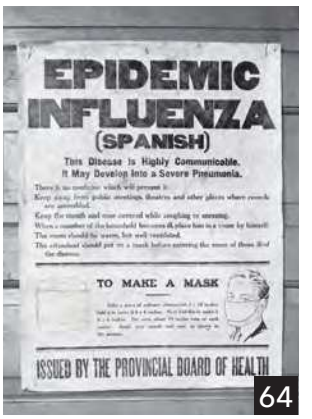

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COMING UP IN CANADA'S HISTORY

How the Second World War changed everything in Canada. A special feature by award-winning military historian and author Tim Cook.

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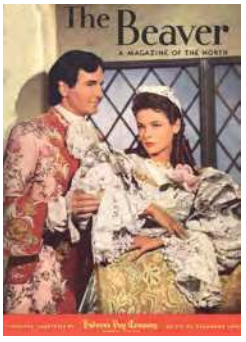

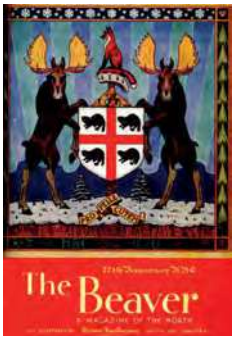

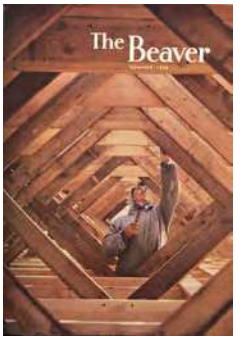

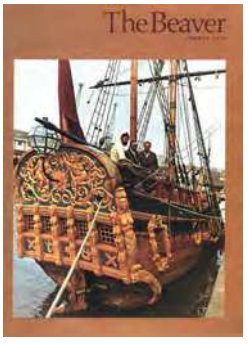

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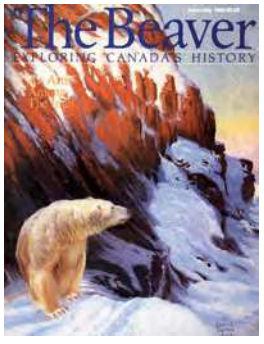

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A man in Toronto carries a keg of beer in September 1916 – six months after the *Ontario Temperance Act* prohibited the sale of alcohol in that province.

Strange brew

At some point in the neolithic period, around seven thousand years or so ago, a gust of wind blew some wild yeast into a clay pot filled with grain. Then it rained.

The temperature was warm enough to ignite the chemical process that we know today as fermentation. Some time later, the owner of the pot returned, imbibed the strange brew, and, in so doing, likely discovered the world's first hangover.

It's incredible to think that something created completely by accident, such as alcohol, has evolved over time to become a multi-billion-dollar global industry. Since that serendipitous, theoretical first fermentation, successive societies — from the ancient Egyptians and Chinese to the Greeks, the Norse, and others — have sought to perfect the craft. Their creativity certainly knew no bounds. They fermented honey and created mead. They fermented grapes and — voila! — wine was born. Potatoes, rye, rice, apples — you name it — someone, somewhere, at some point, likely tried to transform it into booze.

Alcohol's mind- and mood-altering qualities were often connected to the gods, from the Greeks' Dionysus to Rome's Bacchus to Christianity's Jesus, whom the Bible says transformed water into wine.

Throughout history, alcohol has been the source of merriment and misery. The American inventor Benjamin Franklin once claimed that beer was "proof that God loves us." Here in Canada, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald — an infamous imbiber — quipped to a political rival that the public preferred "John A. drunk to George Brown sober."

For many Canadians, though, the abuse of alcohol was no laughing matter: it destroyed families, lowered productivity, and fuelled crime. By the turn of the ninteenth century, churches, temperance societies and women's groups were leading the charge to have booze banned.

In this issue, author Daniel Francis recalls the tortuous route Canada took in enacting prohibition — and why it ultimately failed.

Elsewhere in this issue, a pair of feature articles explores the complicated legacy of the Group of Seven, which held its debut exhibition one hundred years ago in 1920, while another article recounts the tale of the Tsilhqot'in people's historic efforts to exert sovereignty over their traditional territories in British Columbia.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

Daniel Francis wrote "Making Canada Dry." His history of prohibition, *Closing Time*, appeared in 2014. In 2017 he was awarded the Governor General's History Award for Popular Media: The Pierre Berton Award. His many publications include histories of whaling, transportation, the fur trade, and the sex trade. His history of Vancouver, *Becoming Vancouver* (Harbour Publishing), will be published this fall.

Nichole Martin wrote "Changing Landscapes." She is the curatorial and collections assistant at Homer Watson House & Gallery in Kitchener, Ontario, where she has done research and written articles on Homer Watson, Phoebe Watson, and The Doon School of Fine Arts. She curated the art exhibition *Inside/Out* for the gallery in 2019. Martin holds a bachelor of arts degree with a major in history from the University of Prince Edward Island.

Andrew Findlay, who wrote "Defending the Land," lives on Vancouver Island and writes about nature, conservation, politics, adventure travel, business, animals, and people. His work also appears in *Canadian Geographic*, *The Narwhal*, *Sierra* magazine, *Bike*, *Snow Magazine*, *BC Business*, and many other publications. Numerous assignments have taken him to the Chilcotin, one of the most historically fascinating and politically complex places in British Columbia.

Ian A.C. Dejardin, interviewed for the article "Bold Strokes," holds a postgraduate diploma in art gallery and museum studies from Manchester University and an M.A. in the history of art from the University of Edinburgh. Prior to joining the McMichael Canadian Art Collection as executive director in 2017, Dejardin served as the director of the Dulwich Picture Gallery in England. He has curated numerous exhibitions on Canadian art, including *A Like Vision: The Group of Seven at 100*.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Explorer David Thompson greets a Mandan chief in 1797 in this painting by Don McMaster.

An explorer's great legacy

I enjoyed your feature story on the Hudson's Bay Company ("An Epic Tale," April-May 2020), and especially the amount of information you gave about British-Canadian explorer David Thompson, his explorations, and the many skills he possessed. If memory serves me correctly, many years ago *National Geographic* did an article on Thompson. Its comment was that, compared to Thompson, American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were armchair explorers. Coming from a premium American publication, this is a great compliment. Why, as Canadians, do we not honour our great achievers? Thanks for the excellent issue.

W.H. Lindsay
via email

A life worth documenting

I read with great interest the story of Inuit elder Qapik Attagutsiak ("Home front hero," April-May 2020). I hope that there is a documentary filmmaker who would be interested in filming her daily life, as she must be one of the last people to be living such a traditional lifestyle. A video featuring her teaching traditional skills would be of great interest to many viewers.

Stephanie Gilman
Ottawa

Memories of the HBC

The special issue about HBC history (*Canada's History*, April-May 2020), reminded me of some of my personal souvenirs. My father, Gilbert Pelchat, had many sidelines when we lived in Plessisville, Quebec, when I was a kid in the 1960s and early 1970s. He was a trapper and regularly caught fur animals to sell the pelts to, yes, the Hudson's Bay Company. Once a year he would go to the HBC store in Quebec City and sell the furs he had caught during the winter. It could bring some appreciable extra money, considering that he did not have a high wage at the factory where he worked and, to tell the truth, we were dirt poor.

André Pelchat
L'Avenir, Quebec

Strathcona's complex impact

Kudos to writer Joe Martin for his reference to Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona, in the April-May 2020 edition of *Canada's History* ("The World's Oldest Multinational"). Strathcona had a complex impact on Canada's growth. In the early 1900s, Montreal-based tobacco company Forest Limited made the name Strathcona the byword for value for cigar smokers.

David Raymont
via email

Email comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to *Canada's History*, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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CANADA'S HISTORY

Marchers hit the streets for the 2019 Calgary Pride Parade.

Finding pride in the past

Project celebrates Calgary's hidden LGBTQ history. *by Dave Baxter*

When Kevin Allen realized that little was known about the history of Calgary's LGBTQ community, it led him on a personal mission to uncover stories that had been buried for decades and to bring them to the surface.

Allen is the founder of the Calgary Gay History Project, a venture that tells hidden stories from his city's past.

"It started in 2012, and it came out of curiosity," Allen said. "I'm a fourth-generation Calgary resident, and one day I was asking my parents, where did gay people hang out and what did they do back in the 1970s?"

"My dad said he knew gay men used to hang out and drink at the Palliser Hotel in an underground club in the basement, and that got me really curious and led me down this rabbit hole that all led to the project."

Homosexual acts were criminalized in Canada until the passing of Bill C-150 in 1969, which meant that many older members of Calgary's gay community had stories that had never been shared, Allen said.

"The initial inspiration was to recover the stories and to preserve them. These stories are buried, and that's the case across the country, because we were a criminalized minority. So the stakes were very high."

The stories he has uncovered appear on the Calgary Gay History Project website (calgarygayhistory.ca), which features articles on everything from Calgary's first pride parade to the story of two lesbian softball teams in the city that competed in the 1960s.

Two men walk hand-in-hand in 1991 during the first Calgary Pride Parade.

In 2019 Allen published a book on the subject, *Our Past Matters: Stories of Gay Calgary*, and the same year the Calgary Gay History Project made the 2019 short list for the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Community Programming.

Allen says the history project has brought happiness and, in many cases, relief, to members of Calgary's gay community.

"These stories finally coming out has been a source of great joy," Allen said. "The project gets a lot of love from the elderly community, and it has really filled a niche, because it was something that for so long was missing."

TOP: CALGARY PRIDE/KELLY HOFER. BOTTOM: CALGARY GAY HISTORY PROJECT

Rejecting the White Paper

It was a moment of defiance fifty years ago that ignited a new era of Indigenous political organizing in Canada.

On June 4, 1970, twenty-five-year-old Harold Cardinal, flanked by Indigenous chiefs and leaders, stood in front of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his cabinet and presented what would become known as the Red Paper.

The Red Paper document, which was officially titled "Citizens Plus," was created by the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) as a response to and rejection of the federal government's "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy," also known as the White Paper. The National Indian Brotherhood, representing "status Indians" under the *Indian Act*, adopted the IAA's Red Paper as its official response to the White Paper.

Unveiled one year earlier in 1969, the White Paper proposed dismantling the *Indian Act* and eliminating special status for Indigenous people. People to whom the *Indian Act* applied, known as status Indians, were to become like all other Canadians, and the Numbered Treaties would eventually end.

Cardinal, who at the time was the leader of IAA, called the White Paper "a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation" and an attempt at "cultural genocide." Because of pressure from Indigenous leaders, the federal government ultimately scrapped the proposals in the White Paper. — *Dave Baxter*

Harold Cardinal, standing, with other Indigenous leaders from across Canada, speaks to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, left, back to camera, during the presentation of the Red Paper on June 4, 1970.

BOTTOM LEFT: CANADIAN PRESS 3569942; TOP RIGHT: COURTESY OF CHRISTOPHER DUMMITT

Trent University professor of history Christopher Dummitt records an episode of *1867 & All That*.

Tuned in to history

Christopher Dummitt believes that telling interesting and compelling stories is one of the best ways to bring this nation's history to life.

"People like stories. We imagine our lives as stories," Dummitt said. "Stories are a wonderful tool to make the past come alive."

Dummitt, a professor of history at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario, is the creator and narrator of the podcast *1867 & All That*, which was released online in January 2020 at 1867allthat.com.

He said the podcast takes a "narrative approach" to Canadian history by combining facts, narration, music, and sound effects, as he hopes to bring listeners closer to the stories he tells.

"It's about bringing the stories to life," Dummitt said. "There's something about hearing gunshots or the sound of a horse's hooves that emotionally engages a listener in a way that is so much more profound than words alone. Even though we know these aren't the actual gunshots or the actual sounds of the past, they work on our imagination to really get us involved."

Dummitt said he strives for the podcast to be a listening experience similar to audiobooks or old-time radio shows.

The first season of *1867 & All That* features ten half-hour-long episodes that cover the rebellions of 1837 and 1838 and the fights over responsible government in the 1840s. He plans to produce two more seasons. — *Henrietta Roi*

PHOTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

Nazis take Winnipeg

With soldiers' hands held high in the Nazi salute, what appears to be an invading German force rolls through the streets of downtown Winnipeg on February 19, 1942. The military-style parade – which actually involved local volunteers dressed as Nazis – was held on If Day, a one-day simulated invasion and occupation of the Manitoba capital. If Day was a fundraiser for Canada's Second World War efforts. Its organizers believed that the fear created by the mock invasion would help to increase wartime donations. The event also included a staged firefight, the mock arrest of prominent politicians, and a German takeover of a local newspaper. The scare tactics seem to have worked – If Day inspired donations of around $3 million for the war effort.

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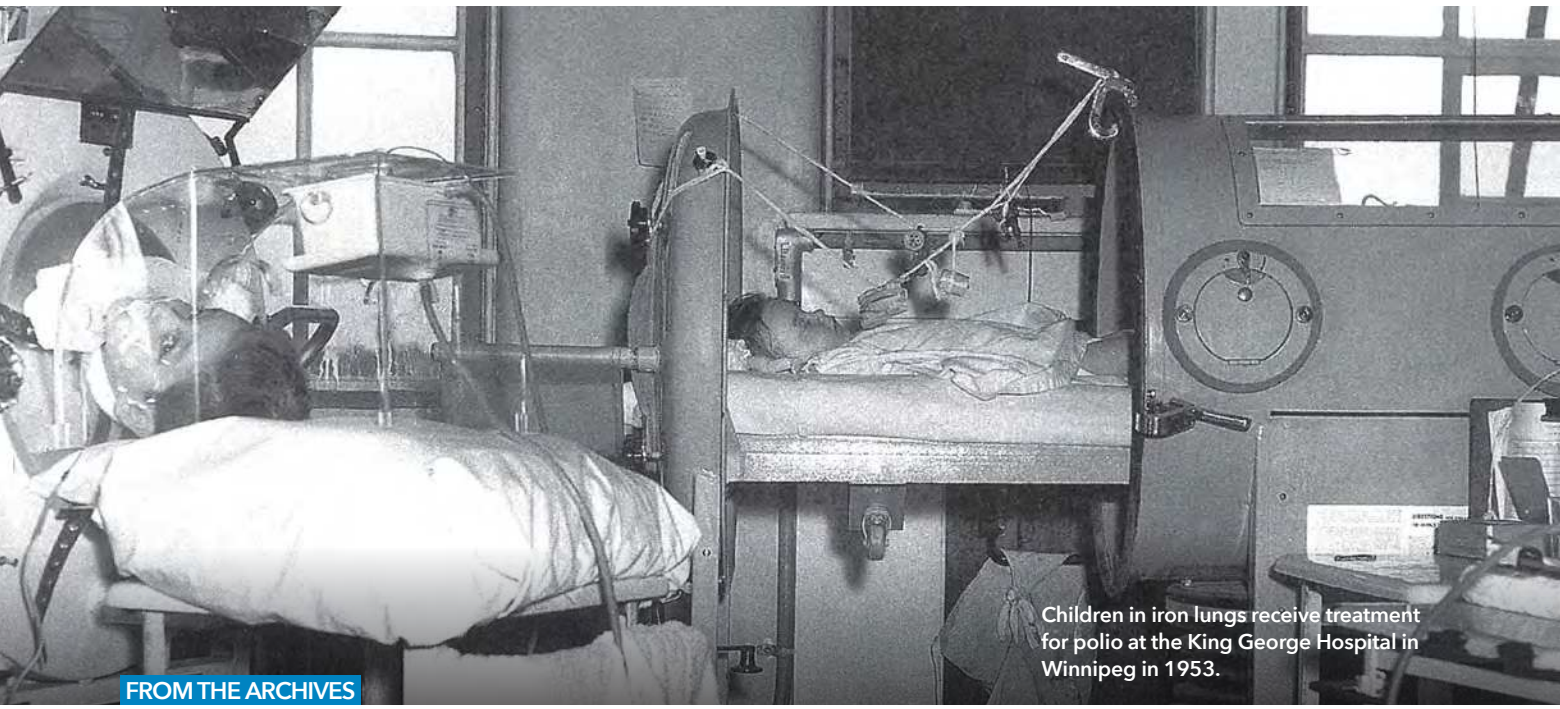

Children in iron lungs receive treatment for polio at the King George Hospital in Winnipeg in 1953.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

The polio epidemic in Canada

Long before the novel coronavirus that causes COVID-19 began its spread and stoked fear and anxiety across the globe, another lethal disease advanced rapidly and caused terror both worldwide and here in Canada.

The article "The Twentieth-Century Plague," which appeared in the April-May 2004 edition of *The Beaver*, explains how poliomyelitis (polio) spread in Canada and brought horror to families.

The first reported case of polio in Canada, according to the story, was in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1910, when a young girl became ill with the disease and died while in hospital. The virus soon spread to other Ontario communities, including Toronto, Windsor, and Niagara Falls.

As years passed, polio's toll on the population grew. In 1937 alone almost 4,000 cases were reported in Canada, with 2,546 cases and 119 deaths reported in Ontario that year.

Quarantines have become commonplace around the world in 2020 in an attempt to slow the spread of the new coronavirus. Similar tactics were used during the early days of the polio epidemic.

Public health departments in Canada quarantined the sick, closed schools, and restricted children from travelling to locations such as theatres.

Although the disease caused death, disruption, and fear it also caused Canadians to go to great lengths to find ways to help the ill and save lives.

In 1937, only one iron lung — a mechanical respirator that enabled some polio patients to breathe on their own — existed in all of Canada. When a boy was admitted to Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children that year with breathing problems, doctors and engineers sprang into action and saved the boy's life by building a wooden iron lung-style device. They used plywood and an experimental respirator that had been created to treat premature infants.

Over the next six weeks, hospital workers constructed an additional twenty-seven iron lungs in the hospital's basement and rush shipped them to wherever they were needed in Canada.

Canada also had missteps when it came to treating polio. A nasal spray designed to block the virus from entering the body was used on five thousand Toronto children in 1937, but it was soon abandoned. It didn't prevent polio, and it caused several of the children to permanently lose their sense of smell.

While polio cases declined in Canada during the Second World War they increased substantially after the war. The number of cases reached a peak in Canada in 1953, with nearly nine thousand cases and five hundred deaths, the most serious national epidemic since the 1918–1920 Spanish influenza pandemic.

The widespread application of the Salk vaccine in 1955 and the Sabin oral vaccine in 1962 eventually brought polio under control in the early 1970s, but Canada was not certified polio-free until 1994. — *Dave Baxter*

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver*, *Canada's History*, and *Kayak* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Please visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read a century's worth of stories.

A mural created by the Royal Ontario Museum Youth Cabinet that celebrates Indigenous culture and heritage is now on display at the museum in Toronto.

New mural inspired by Indigenous knowledge

A group of young people have combined their artistic abilities and their knowledge of Indigenous culture and heritage to create a meaningful work of art for Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum (ROM).

The four-panel permanent mural installation, which was unveiled at the museum in October 2019, is the creation of the ROM Youth Cabinet, an integrated group of Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years old from the Greater Toronto Area.

Throughout the year, the group gathers knowledge about Indigenous issues and culture by spending time with Indigenous elders, guest speakers, and artists, as well as by attending local Indigenous-based community events. Council members compile the knowledge they gather throughout the year and use it to create a final project. The 2019 finished piece of art features four black horses surrounding an image of a totem pole. On the totem pole are images of a bear, a wolf, an eagle and a deer.

The totem pole was inspired in part by teachings the young people learned from Jessie Jakumeit, an award-winning artist and educator from Vancouver who works with the youth cabinet.

The horses are a nod to a story the group learned about black horses coming down from the sky to act as protection. Other images on the mural include branches intertwined to create a medicine wheel which acknowledges everything in creation, and a sweetgrass braid bordering the mural which represents our interconnectedness. *— Henrietta Roi*

HBC celebrated with silver

Three hundred and fifty years after a Royal Charter was granted to "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson Bay," the moment is being celebrated with a silver coin. The Royal Canadian Mint released the replica ten-dollar coin on March 12 to mark the 350th anniversary of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). The design features the HBC coat of arms framed in a wreath of leaves, with the company motto *pro pelle cutem* (Latin for "a pelt for a skin"). *— Dave Baxter*

TOP: TINA WEITZ/ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM. BOTTOM: ROYAL CANADIAN MINT

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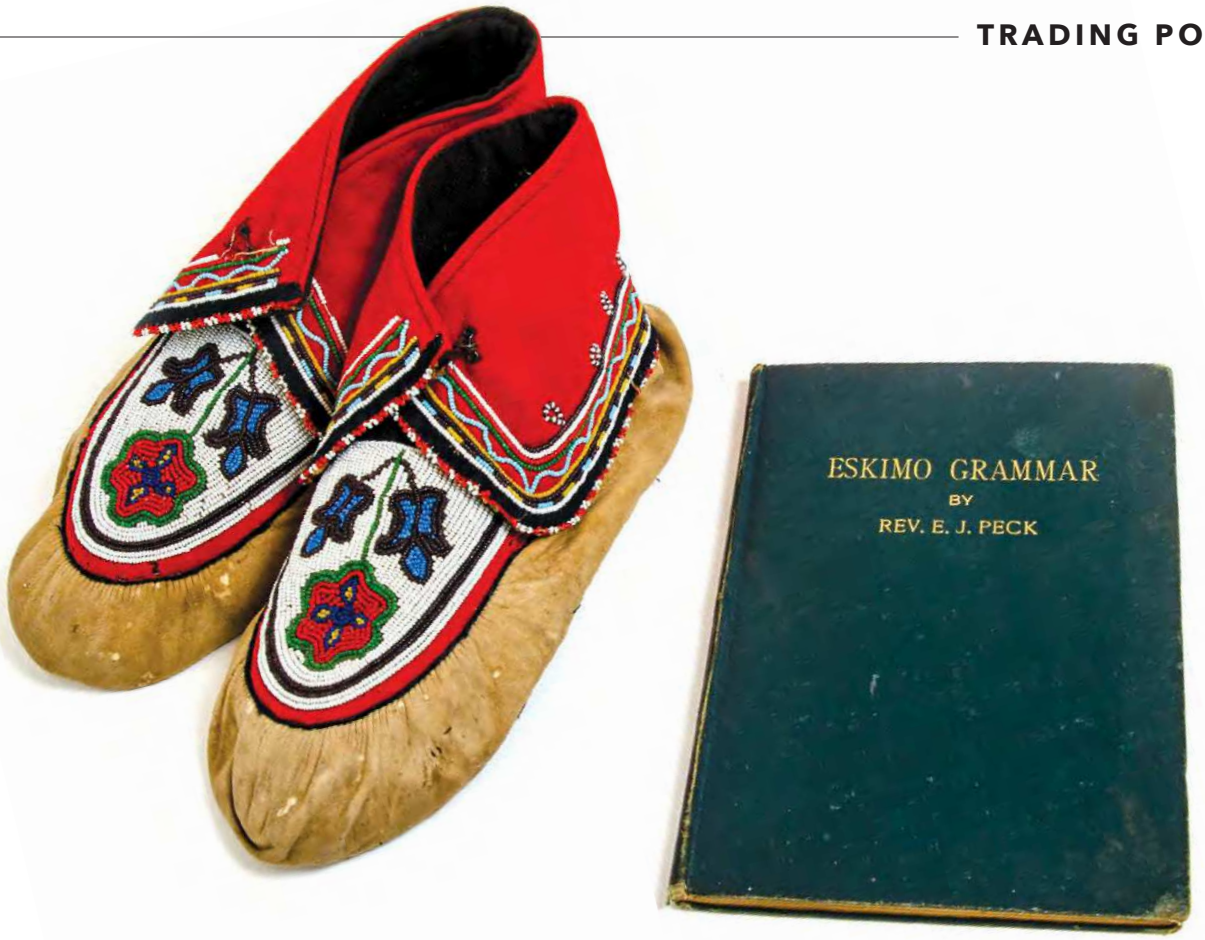

Moccasins and book

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of Hudson's Bay Company

Both of the items seen here were used by Philip de Carteret when he worked as a trapper and fur trader for Revillon Frères and the Hudson's Bay Company between 1929 and 1934 in the Nunavik region of northern Quebec. At the age of twenty-one, de Carteret signed a five-year contract with French fur and luxury goods company Revillon Frères and moved from England to Canada, where he worked mostly out of Fort Chimo (now Kuujjuaq) at the mouth of the Koksoak River on Ungava Bay. An HBC outpost had been established there in 1830.

The moccasins were handmade by an unknown Indigenous woman in the late 1920s or early 1930s before they were acquired by de Carteret. Inside the cover of the ninety-two-page book *Eskimo Grammar*, written by Anglican missionary Reverend Edmund Peck and first published in 1919, de Carteret inscribed "P. de Carteret/ Ungava Port./ Koksoak River." (The term "Eskimo" has since fallen out of favour in Canada and has been replaced by "Inuit," meaning the people.) Peck had studied Inuktitut during a three-month voyage from England to Moose Factory on Hudson Bay and became proficient in both Inuktitut and Cree, believing that it would benefit his work as an evangelist. Known by some as Uqammaq, "he who speaks well," Peck went on to publish several religious texts in Inuktitut.

After his term as a trapper, de Carteret settled in Jersey, one of the Channel Islands, and raised a family. An accomplished sailor, navigator, and fisherman, de Carteret was also an accordion player and a storyteller who published several articles about his adventures in *The Beaver* magazine (now *Canada's History*).

— Cortney Pachet, assistant curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

ARTIFACTS FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 014-2 AND HBC 014-9) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

HUDSON'S BAY

The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

MAKING CANADA DRY

The push to ban alcohol a century ago met with opposition and, briefly, success.

by Daniel Francis

IN JUNE 1893, LIBERALS FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY GATHERED at an Ottawa ice rink for a two-day meeting. Out of power for the past fifteen years, the federal Liberals were hoping to energize their party and to propel it to victory under its new leader, Wilfrid Laurier. It was "the greatest political gathering ever held in Canada," enthused Toronto's *Globe* newspaper.

Among the 1,800 delegates was a man named Frank Spence, a champion for the cause of prohibition. Spence was secretary of the Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, the main national organization lobbying for a ban on booze. At the Ottawa ice palace he worked the committee rooms and the convention floor, tirelessly buttonholing and arm-twisting his fellow delegates to add a prohibition plank to the Liberal platform. In the end his labours were only partly successful. At the last possible moment, after midnight and just before the convention adjourned, exhausted delegates agreed on a resolution promising that, if elected, a Laurier government would put the question of prohibition to a national vote.

Canada had never had a nationwide referendum. But neither had there been an issue quite so vexing as prohibition. Originally, anti-liquor activists had called for moderation (temperance) rather than total abstinence (prohibition). The temperance movement had spilled across the border from the United States during the 1820s. Temperance societies formed in tiny hamlets and large urban centres alike. The movement had its own newspapers with huge circulations, and temperance meetings displayed all the fervour of a religious revival. Churches were at the forefront of the movement, but they were joined by a wide range of social reformers who were appalled at the toll excessive liquor consumption was taking on personal health and family stability.

Alcohol abuse was widespread in nineteenth-century Canada, where booze was often more accessible, and safer to drink, than water or milk. Every town of any size had its own brewery, and taverns were the community centres of the day. At times it seemed that liquor was the lifeblood

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Like this man enjoying his pint, many in early Canada drank alcohol – and some abused it. But by the early 1900s the harm to health and families caused by readily available booze could no longer be ignored.

of colonial Canada. Nonetheless, the temperance movement picked up steam as the social and economic costs of heavy drinking became more serious. Broken families, abandoned wives and children, increased criminality and mental illness — all of these problems seemed to be growing during the nineteenth century, and all were blamed on booze. And as the enthusiasm for temperance spread so did support for the idea of total abstinence or teetotal (the word comes from the popular slogan "capital T total abstinence"). Across British North America at mid-century more than half a million people took the pledge to swear off liquor.

It was a different matter when the movement attempted to persuade legislators to pass laws enforcing a ban. Most politicians hated to get involved in the issue. They did not want to make enemies of the wealthy brewers and distillers or to alienate the many voters who still liked to drink. Nor did they want to lose the substantial revenues governments received from

A Sunday school group from the Hillhurst Presbyterian Church in Calgary protests against alcohol circa 1912–16. Church and women's groups led the campaign for temperance and prohibition.

liquor taxes, licence fees, and import duties. For the most part, public officials preferred to regulate rather than to ban. A compromise solution was something called "local option," introduced in Ontario and Quebec in 1864 and then nationally with the *Canada Temperance Act* of 1878. Known popularly as the Scott Act, after its sponsor, Secretary of State R.W. Scott, it allowed liquor plebiscites to be held in any city or county that petitioned for a vote. If a majority of voters favoured prohibition, then the sale of liquor in that community would be banned, with minor exceptions.

Initially, local option turned out to be popular, especially in the Maritime provinces, where seventy per cent of the population was living in dry communities by the end of the century. Ontario also jumped aboard the bandwagon; twenty-five counties and two cities voted to go dry. But in Quebec and the West the movement was not that strong, and by the 1880s many of the counties that had gone dry were voting themselves wet again. The problem was that local option was too difficult to enforce. All a determined drinker had to do was to bring in liquor from a neighbouring, wet community; many local officials had no appetite, and no resources, to enforce the ban, anyway. Prohibitionists recognized that a more determined effort was needed to force governments to act.

In mid-September 1875, hundreds of delegates from groups across Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes met at the YMCA auditorium in Montreal and voted to create a new national organization devoted to fighting for prohibition. The following year the Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic was born. In the years ahead it was the Alliance, along with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, that spearheaded the struggle for prohibition.

At about the same time, Frank Spence came on the scene. As a young boy in Toronto — the family had moved from Ireland in 1861 — Spence inherited his commitment to the cause while listening to his father Jacob, a Methodist minister, preaching against the malevolent powers of drink. Having given up his first career as a schoolteacher to become a publisher of prohibitionist literature, Frank Spence joined the Ontario branch of the Dominion Alliance as its only full-time employee in 1884 and then took on the same role for the national organization. His lobbying seemed to pay off in 1892 when the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald appointed the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada to study the feasibility of dry legislation. The following year, when Spence persuaded the Liberals to add a prohibition referendum to their platform, he and the movement could have been forgiven for believing they were at last on the verge of the great reform.

What looked like a breakthrough, however, turned out to be more like a false start. The majority of the five commission members opposed prohibition, so it was little surprise that when they turned in their seven-volume report in March 1895 it proposed only limited reforms and refused to accept that a total liquor ban was either necessary or practical. The alcohol industry made too valuable a contribution to the economy for the government to threaten its existence.

Undaunted, the alliance and its allies had already turned their attention to the provinces, which retained significant powers when it came to liquor control. Between mid-1892 and mid-1894, four provinces out of the seven in existence at the time held plebiscites on the issue. In each case voters overwhelmingly supported the dry choice. But at the provincial level the issue was complicated by the question of constitutional jurisdiction. Which level of government had ultimate responsibility over the liquor business? The courts had to decide, and, until they did, provincial politicians had an excuse to delay.

On May 9, 1896, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Britain — then the court of final appeal on Canadian legal matters — finally handed down its decision,

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After authorities raided several speakeasies in Elk Lake, Ontario, in 1925, they dumped out 160 kegs of alcohol.

ruling that provinces had the authority to control the sale of alcoholic beverages, while the federal government was responsible for regulating its manufacture and importation. This seemed like a victory for the forces of prohibition, at least in Ontario, where Premier Oliver Mowat had promised to go as far in the direction of a ban as the court allowed. But Mowat was no longer premier, and his successor, Arthur Hardy, did not agree that prohibition was necessary.

This swung the issue back to the jurisdiction of the federal government. In the federal election of June 1896, Canadians gave the Liberal Party a clear majority. The new prime minister, Wilfrid Laurier, was not a prohibitionist — few Quebecers were — but his party's platform called for a referendum, and he intended to honour that promise. On September 29, 1898, the country held its first referendum on any subject. The question was clear: "Are you in favour of passing an Act prohibiting the importation, manufacture, or sale of spirits, wine, ale, cider, and all other alcoholic liquor for use as a beverage?"

The answer was less obvious. The yes side carried the day, but only by a slim margin of fifty-one per cent of the votes cast. Such a narrow majority was never going to be enough to force a reluctant government's hand. Voter turnout was low; forty-four per cent of voters cast a ballot, compared to sixty-three per cent in the previous federal election. What's more, Quebec voted decisively against the proposition. It would be political suicide for Laurier to act against the wishes of the French-speaking population.

Not surprisingly, the Dominion Alliance called the "anti" vote a "French vote," which is how it has often been portrayed — as another example of French-English division in the country. In fact there was significant opposition to prohibition outside Quebec as well. In Ontario, for example, forty-two per cent voted no; in British Columbia it was forty-five per cent. One thing the result did show was that the Canadian public was deeply divided. The federal government, probably wisely, concluded that the results of a popular vote should not be allowed to trump the political realities of the day.

Given its equivocal result, the 1898 referendum did nothing to settle the question of prohibition. As Frank Spence told the *Ottawa Journal*, "It is merely the opening skirmish in what is going to be a hot campaign." The Dominion Alliance kept up its crusade, and more provincial plebiscites took place; but no legislative action occurred, except in Prince Edward Island. In 1900 it became the first province to ban the sale of alcohol. In the rest of Canada it took the outbreak of the First World War to finally break the stalemate.

"Without the war," Stephen Leacock observed in his

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THE CURSE OF CANADA

NO LAUGHING MATTER

Prohibition was one of those issues on which everyone had an opinion, including the leading intellectuals of the day. Stephen Leacock may have been known as a humorist, but he was also an academic economist, and about liquor he was dead serious. An unapologetic social drinker, he resented attempts by teetotallers to ban booze – he considered them religious zealots. "There is no more reason why you should put a criminal penalty upon the use of beer than you should on the use of cucumbers," he wrote. For him, prohibition was a tyranny imposed by "a relentless and fanatical minority."

On the opposite side of the issue was another famous funny man, the cartoonist John Wilson Bengough. He was the publisher of the satiric magazine *Grip*, launched in Toronto in 1873 when Bengough was just twenty-two years old. His guiding principle was that "the pun is mightier than the sword," and he used his magazine to mock the pretensions and policies of leading politicians. Bengough was a committed social reformer, and prohibition was one of his favourite causes. In 1897 he published *The Prohibition Aesop*, a book of "fables" exposing the blight of the liquor traffic. One moral from his book: "the liquor traffic is in its very nature a law-breaking business. It must be put out of existence." – *Daniel Francis*

1919 essay "The Tyranny of Prohibition," "national prohibition would never have been voted." Leacock was right. The First World War proved to be the tipping point in the slow drying out of Canada. As Canadians came to realize that the conflict was going to mean unprecedented suffering and sacrifice, the forces for prohibition were energized. Soldiers and civilians alike had to maintain a sober resolve to take on the enemy. In the new spirit of sacrifice, drink seemed a small thing to give up when others were asked to give up so much. The home front was totally mobilized for the war effort. Resources were channelled to support the armed forces, not wasted on the production of alcoholic beverages. Young men were giving up their lives "to preserve the civilization our fathers have built up for us," wrote the editor of the *Vancouver Daily World*, a strongly prohibitionist newspaper. "Shall we not do our share to rid that civilization of the parasitic growth of evil that sloth and indifference have allowed to flourish rankly within it?"

The war also endorsed a new level of state interference in individual lives. Government introduced rationing, employed widespread censorship, and even suspended democracy under the terms of the *War Measures Act*. In 1917 the federal government introduced the first income tax as a way to finance the war. When personal freedoms were being limited every day in the name of a greater good, the argument that prohibition was an infringement of individual liberty lost much of its force. Patriotism trumped all other values, and patriotism required a dry Canada.

The result was that, all across the country, provinces held referendums or plebiscites that led to laws banning the sale of liquor. Three provinces — Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick — acted without even bothering to hold popular votes. The one exception was Quebec, which introduced a ban in May 1919, but only on the sale of spirits.

One holdout in the rush to prohibition was the federal government. The courts had ruled that it had jurisdiction over the manufacture and importation of alcoholic beverages. While the provinces shuttered their liquor stores and turned off the beer taps, it was still possible for consumers to import their booze from elsewhere. At the end of 1917 a federal election gave a renewed mandate to Prime Minister Robert Borden, who had invited several Liberals to join his Union government. Almost immediately, Borden announced a ban on the importation of "intoxicating liquors" into any part of the country where the sale was already illegal. As well, all manufacturing of beverage alcohol would stop. These measures, he said, were to remain in force for a year following the end of the war (meaning, as it turned out, until the end of 1919). Once the restrictions came into force on April 1, 1918, Canada was as close as it ever came to total prohibition. The United States makes much of its prohibition era with its speakeasies, flappers, and bathtub gin; in fact, Canada went dry a full twenty months before the Americans.

Prohibition was achieved in Canada following a century

MCCORD MUSEUM M994.X.5.273.96

Above: Toronto police arrest a man for illegal possession of alcohol, September 16, 1916.

Left: People found ingenious ways around prohibition, like this woman carrying a flask of liquor in her garter, circa 1920.

Below: Vancouver officials pose with stills captured during prohibition, circa 1917.

TOP: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 3193880. BOTTOM LEFT: GLENBOW LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES NA-3217-2. BOTTOM RIGHT: CITY OF VANCOUVER ARCHIVES VPD-5214-, CVA 480-215

NON-INTOXICATING LIQUOR
TEMPERANCE
BOTTLED ONLY AT THE BREWERY EVERY BOTTLE STERILIZED
WINNING THE WORLD WITH ELK QUALITY
BREW
WE GUARANTEE THIS BEER TO BE BREWED FROM CHOICEST MATERIALS
ELK VALLEY BREWING CO. LTD.
NATAL, B. C.

Above left: Staff and a patron pose at the Warman Hotel in Warman, Saskatchewan, circa 1913–19. Top right: A label from southwestern Ontario's Strathroy Brewing and Malting Company. After five years of prohibition, more than a third of Canada's breweries had disappeared. Above right: Temperance Brew was a low-alcohol beer produced by British Columbia's Elk Valley Brewing.

of debate. It is possibly the most discussed, and certainly the most voted-upon, public policy in our history. It is surprising, then, that it took less than three years for it to prove completely unworkable.

First of all, determined drinkers discovered that it was not difficult to avoid the law. Bootlegging — the term refers to the practice of hiding a bottle in the top of a boot — flourished. "Hotels, barber shops and a horde of bootleggers sold whiskey day and night," reported the *Moncton Daily Times*, "and the percentage of convictions was infinitesimal." Farmers built illegal stills, fishermen used their boats to smuggle liquor, neighbours manufactured moonshine in their basements to sell to their friends. As an example, the *Regina Leader* newspaper estimated in 1923 that there were twenty thousand illicit stills operating in Saskatchewan alone. While the sale and manufacture of alcoholic beverages was banned, there was an exemption in the law for "medicinal spirits," alcohol that was used in so-called medicines. Doctors and pharmacists were able to dispense these elixirs for a variety of ailments, both real and imagined, and the number of bogus prescriptions soared. In fact, the medical profession made a handsome profit selling prescriptions at two to four dollars

FROM WET TO DRY AND BACK AGAIN

JURISDICTION	PROHIBITION IN EFFECT	PROHIBITION ENDED
Prince Edward Island	1900	1948
Manitoba	1916	1923
Nova Scotia	1916	1930
Alberta	1916	1924
Ontario	1916	1927
New Brunswick	1917	1927
Saskatchewan	1917	1925
British Columbia	1917	1921
Yukon	1918	1921
Quebec briefly prohibited the sale of spirits in 1919.		
It was illegal to possess or consume alcohol in the Dominion of Newfoundland from 1917 to 1924.		
The Northwest Territories did not enact prohibition during this period.		

FAR LEFT: GLENBOW LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES NA-3853-23; TOP RIGHT: THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOKS LIBRARY 641992867; BOTTOM RIGHT: THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOKS LIBRARY 641992753

Consumers in Windsor, Ontario, celebrate the lifting of prohibition on June 1, 1927.

a shot. Around Christmas 1919, one eyewitness reported lineups a mile long at a Vancouver liquor store, with people waiting to fill "prescriptions" for a product that was officially banned. For such a widespread system of illegal distribution to flourish, police and other officials had to turn a blind eye. In other words, prohibition encouraged public corruption on a grand scale. Criminals became folk heroes, and ordinary people became criminals.

It did not take long for the law to lose whatever popularity it had had at the beginning. With the return of peace, one of the main reasons for prohibition disappeared. Many Canadians recognized that the system was flawed. In 1923 a pamphlet published by an anti-prohibition group in Manitoba argued that prohibition "destroys respect for law. It increases crime. It degrades and corrupts those who attempt to enforce it." No wonder politicians began to look for an alternative to a policy that had turned out to be such a mistake.

Few people wanted a return to the free and easy days of the open consumption of alcohol. Moderation was the new watchword. Some form of control was going to remain, but how much? Saskatchewan had pioneered a short-lived experiment with the idea of government-owned liquor dispensaries in 1915. In the 1920s this idea resurfaced and gained popularity as a middle ground between full-blown prohibition and the open bar. British Columbia was the first province to opt for government control, ending prohibition and opening its first public liquor store in June 1921. One by one the other provinces followed suit, and prohibition was repealed.

As the years passed it became conventional wisdom that prohibition was a classic case of the cure being worse than the disease. The jury is still out on whether it succeeded in reducing the consumption of alcohol — which was, after all, its objective. But there is no question that whatever benefit the law may have brought was far outweighed by the damage it did. Probably no other government policy in Canadian history did as much to debase the society it was intended to improve.

Still, while it is easy to deplore prohibition, it is well to remember that it was an honest attempt to deal with an important social problem. Just as important, it involved a knotty philosophical debate about the extent of individual freedom in a democracy and how far the law should be used to change widely accepted personal behaviour. For all its colourful speakeasies and bootleggers, prohibition raised difficult issues with which we still struggle today.

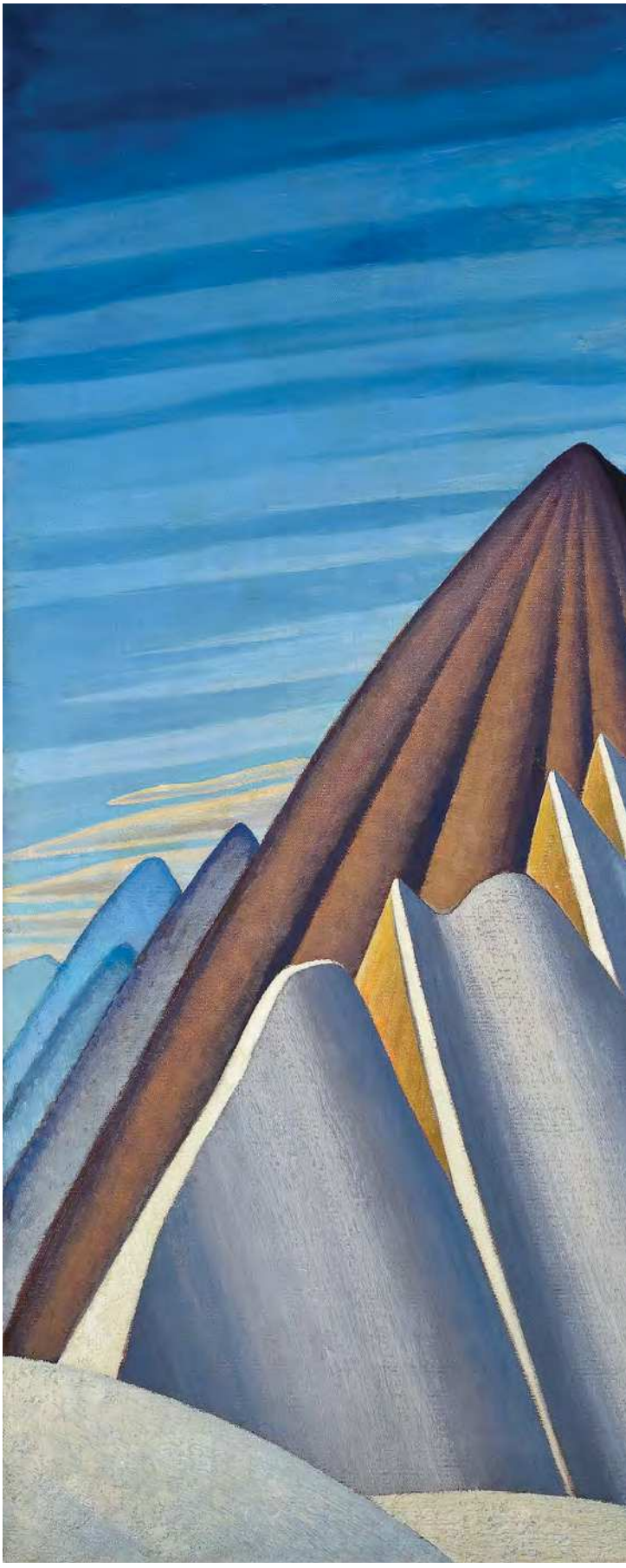
CORBIS IMAGES LW002406

GROUP OF SEVEN
100TH ANNIVERSARY

BOLD STROKES

A century after its debut exhibition, the Group of Seven remains the topic of immense fascination – and debate.

by Mark Collin Reid



THEY BROKE ONTO THE ART SCENE A century ago and quickly became the most famous Canadian painters of their generation. Derided by art critic H.F. Gadsby as "the Hot Mush School," the Group of Seven was lauded by others, including critic C. Lewis Hind, who admired the artists' "bold, decorative landscapes, emphasizing colour, line, and pattern, giving the very look and feel of Canada."

The Group of Seven actually included ten painters: founders Franklin Carmichael, Lawren Harris, A.Y. Jackson, Frank Johnston, Arthur Lismer, J.E.H. MacDonald, and Frederick Varley, as well as A. J. Casson, Edwin Holgate, and LL. FitzGerald, who joined later. Their rise was greeted with resistance by old-guard artists who were both envious of the Group of Seven's overnight fame and skeptical of its efforts to create a new, uniquely Canadian style.

Today, the Group of Seven is viewed as both iconic and problematic — its members admired women painters but refused to allow them to become members, while the group's colonial vision of the wilderness essentially ignored the presence of Indigenous peoples. Nonetheless, the group's impact on Canadian art is undeniable.

To mark the centenary of the group's debut, the McMichael Canadian Art Collection in Kleinburg, Ontario, is hosting *A Like Vision: The Group of Seven at 100*, an exhibition of works by the Group of Seven. Ian A.C. Dejardin, the McMichael's executive director, spoke to *Canada's History* editor-in-chief Mark Reid about the Group of Seven's complicated legacy. [Editor's note: At the time of printing, the McMichael gallery had closed temporarily due to COVID-19-related restrictions in Ontario. Please check availability at: mcmichael.com.]

MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION 1979.20

What was the Canadian art scene like before the rise of the Group of Seven?
It was very much a mirror of what you found in the United Kingdom. They were thoroughly professional. There were well-established names.

There were plenty of opportunities for artists to display their work. What they didn't have was a very progressive tradition. They were hugely influenced by European artists, and, of course, there was a lot of linkage to the old country, in terms of England. That's what I think the likes of Lawren Harris objected to. It was a reaction against a kind of conservatism in art.

Ian A.C. Dejardin

How challenging was it to have a career as a fine artist at the time?
In the early years of that first decade of the twentieth century, certainly you could pursue a career in commercial art. That involved training in handwriting and poster making. You could always get a career … but you couldn't just jump into art, as a professional artist.

It's an important part of the story of the Group of Seven that nearly all of them worked as commercial artists. The Group of Seven, with the exception of Harris, who was a millionaire — always a good thing for an artist to be — had to do other work. It was hard to have a career solely as an artist.

What were some of the group's early influences?
An important influence came from Harris and MacDonald visiting Buffalo, New York, to see the Contemporary Scandinavian Art show in 1913. They were struck by the Scandinavian appreciation of the northern landscape, which of course was an empty, snow-driven kind of landscape that immediately chimed with what [the Group of Seven members] thought of as the "wilderness."

There were also elements of the American Sublime [a popular nineteenth-century American painting style], which focused very firmly on an empty landscape.

Beyond that there was also the influence of theosophy [a nineteenth-century spiritual movement based on the search for truth], which told everyone enlightenment would come from the north and that you were to look for the divine in the landscape.

How did the Great War affect the Group of Seven?
It's a crucial part of the story, which often gets overlooked. The group really should have launched as an entity in 1914. Everything was in place. All the artists were together, they all knew each other, and they were often working together. Harris had paid for the building of a studio building in Rosedale [a Toronto neighbourhood], which was supposed to be the crucible for the new Canadian art. And then, of course, the First World War broke out.

Jackson enlisted immediately. He and Varley were both war

Previous pages: *Mount Robson*, by Lawren S. Harris. Oil on canvas, circa 1929.

Left: *Vanishing Winter*, by Frank Johnston. Oil on hardboard, date unknown.

LEFT: MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION 1987.44.

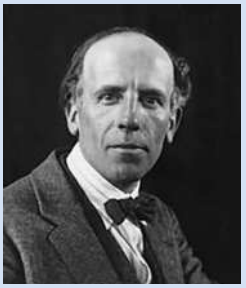
THE MANY FACES OF THE GROUP OF SEVEN

Franklin Carmichael

Lawren Harris

A.Y. Jackson

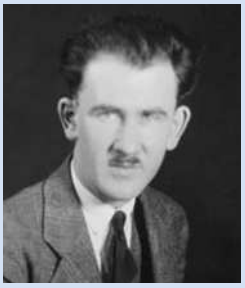
Frank Johnston



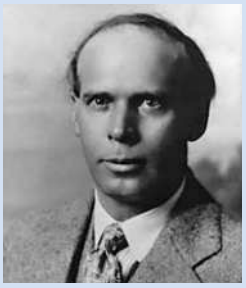
Arthur Lismer

J.E.H. MacDonald

Frederick Varley



A.J. Casson



L. L. FitzGerald

Edwin Holgate

artists with experience of the battlefields. They enlisted first and became war artists afterwards. Harris and Lismer were also war artists, although they didn't go over to Europe. Harris famously had a nervous breakdown — his brother was killed in the war. Harris was a trainer — he trained soldiers back in Ontario but found it overwhelmingly disturbing.

In 1916, Lord Beaverbrook [New Brunswick-born businessman Max Aitken] set up the Canadian War Memorials Fund [a program that sponsored Canadian and British war artists].

He invented the concept of the war artist, basically. It was a way of recording the war — but it was also a way of saving artists' lives. It was actually a cunning device, in some ways, of getting them out of the trenches so that a generation of artists wasn't decimated.

Varley was a sensationally good war artist. He was a complicated character, nearly always penniless, and eventually developed all kinds of personal problems. He was famously a drinker and suffered from depression. He was the one who had a more direct and long-lasting impact from the First World War. Harris had his breakdown but bounced back through art.

In July 1917, artist Tom Thomson drowned while canoeing in Ontario. Thomson wasn't a member of the Group of Seven, but his landscapes of Algonquin Park, northeast of Toronto, inspired many of the group's members. How did Thomson's death impact the group?

It sounds absurd to put the death of Thomson alongside the devastating tragedy of the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives in the First World War. But for that group of artists the death of Thomson was the final blow, as it were.

For them to have witnessed this terrible devastation in Europe, and then to have the person who was actually proving the most brilliant inspiration for what they were trying to do with Canadian art meaninglessly drowning in Canoe Lake, in July of 1917 — this was the thing that had to be gotten over.

How did the members cope with Thomson's death?

Jackson comes back [from the war], and the first thing he does is organize an exhibition of Tom Thomson's work, a memorial exhibition in Montreal.

Harris particularly had to recover from his breakdown. He, and Jackson, and Johnson, and MacDonald go to Algoma [Algoma Country wilderness area near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario] because they can't go to Algonquin, which was too closely associated with Thomson. [Thomson worked as a wilderness guide in Algonquin Park, and the wilderness there inspired many of his paintings, including 1916–17's *The Jack Pine*].

So they go to Algoma, and for the next three years, I see it as a way in which they negotiate the death of Thomson. In a funny kind of way, the devastation of the war becomes focused in the death of Thomson, and, in artistic terms, they work their way through … that grief.

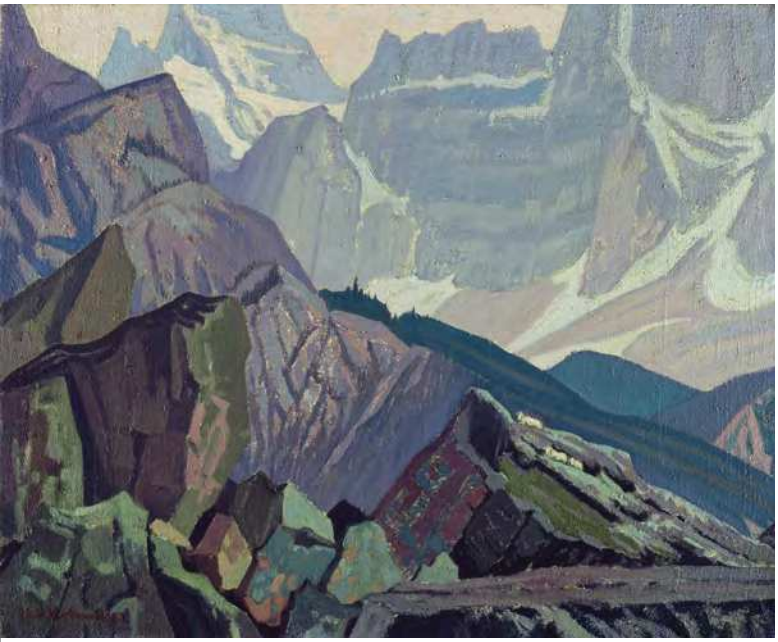
TOP ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT: ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-12-0-0-166; ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-16-0-0-200; LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 3992532; ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-12-0-0-51; ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-12-0-0-53; BOTTOM ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT: ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-16-0-0-105; LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 3509385; ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-16-0-0-216; ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-12-0-0-142; ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, F 1075-12-0-0-147

Above: *Indian Home, Port Essington, B.C.*, by A.Y. Jackson. Oil on wood panel circa 1926.

Far left: *Girl in Red*, by F.H. Varley. Oil on canvas circa 1920–21.

Left: *The Harvester*, by L.L. FitzGerald. Oil on canvas circa 1921.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION 1968.8.3, 1968.15, 1981.41.3



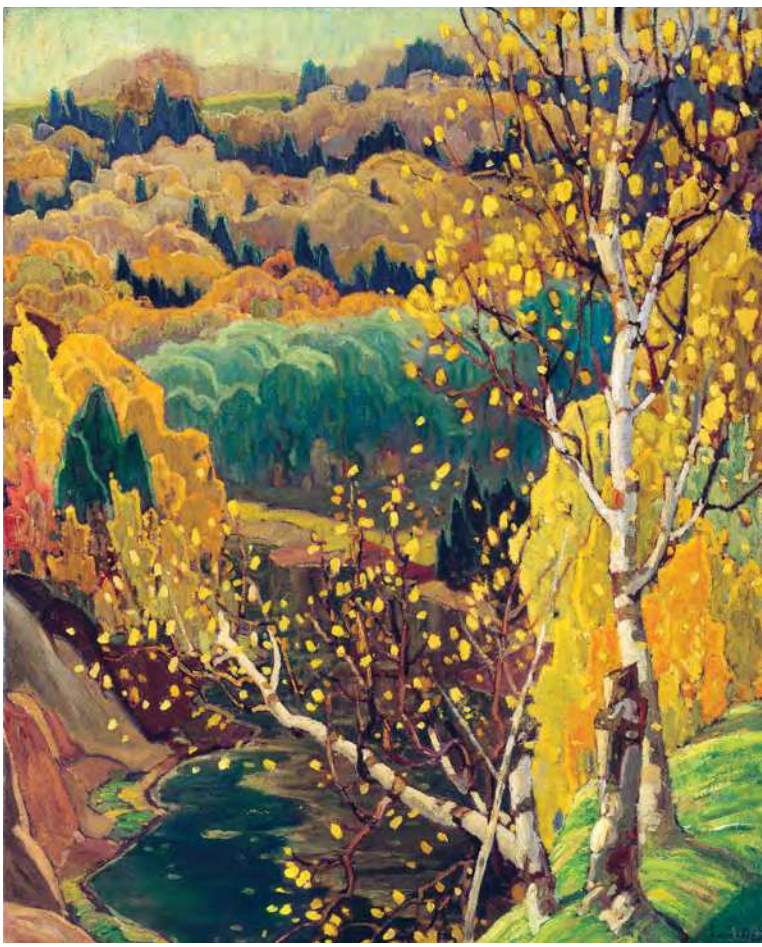
Left: *Goat Range, Rocky Mountains*, by J.E.H. MacDonald. Oil on canvas circa 1932.

Centre left: *From My Window, Montreal*, by Arthur Lismer. Oil on wood panel circa 1940–49.

Bottom Left: *Baie des Moutons, Looking Northward*, by Edwin Holgate. Oil on canvas circa 1930.

Below: *October Gold*, by Franklin Carmichael. Oil on canvas circa 1922.

Bottom right: *Byng Inlet*, by Tom Thomson. Oil on canvas circa 1914-1915.



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION 1979.35; 1966.16.1; 1977.31; 1986.34; 1986.4

At Rosseau, Muskoka, by A.J. Casson, circa 1920, oil on wood panel.

It is very interesting that the First World War created a spiritual crisis, particularly in the cultural world. It's one of the reasons why the 1920s were such a hotbed of theosophy — not just in the art world but the cultural world broadly. It's because, basically, the First World War had really shattered the traditional sense of a good god watching over people. How could there be a benign god who would allow such devastation to happen?

Why weren't women allowed to join the Group of Seven?
There were many, many women at that time who were thoroughly well-trained and were great artists in their own right — who were contemporaries, or came shortly after the Group of Seven, who were uninvited; they were invited to exhibit with the group, but not to join.

The interesting thing is, this was an awareness they had themselves. The Emily Carr issue is the classic one. [Emily Carr was a landscape painter in British Columbia who included aspects of Indigenous culture, such as totem poles, in her art.] She met them all in 1927, when she was effectively discovered for an exhibition of Western Canadian art in Ottawa. Lawren Harris enthusiastically became a friend of hers, and influenced her painting very much, and famously said to her, "you are one of us." But, noticeably, she wasn't invited to join.

Jackson is on record as having said he thought Prudence Heward was arguably one of the greatest artists Canada has ever produced. He wanted her to be in the Group of Seven — but he actually makes that point it was a men-only club. He says, "like the twelve apostles" it could only be men.

If they admired women artists, why keep them out of the group?
I think it kind of grew out of the outdoorsiness of the group's vision, because it was seen as being a pioneering ethos —

MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION 1989.10

let's all put on a backpack, and tramp out into the country, and portage across lakes and rapids, and all the rest of it. It was seen, in a very sexist way, as being a masculine endeavour. Nonetheless, there was an appreciation amongst all the members of the Group of Seven for women artists — and they were indeed invited to exhibit with them. At later exhibitions that the Group of Seven held, women did actually take part.

The Canadian art establishment considered the Group of Seven artists to be radicals. How have successive generations of artists viewed the group's legacy?

It has gone through a period of critical reassessment. For the last three decades or so, there has been a considerable amount of criticism about the Group of Seven on precisely this ground, that they represent colonial thought. Of course they do.

Lawren Harris wrote [in 1920] that art must grow and flower in the landscape before the country will be "a real home for its people." There's the colonial attitude in a nutshell — it ignores that Canada has been a home for its Indigenous people for millennia before that.

I feel there was a long period where the legacy of the Group of Seven was one of contemporary artists really feeling obliged to reject absolutely what it was they stood for. Now we seem to have gone through that. There is a kind of balance now being struck, whereby people have ceased to be so angry about the Group of Seven representing the colonial frame of mind, because, after all, in that period that was universal. I think we have gone through a very useful period of criticism on that basis, and now people are more able to engage with the Group of Seven without tossing the baby out with the bathwater.

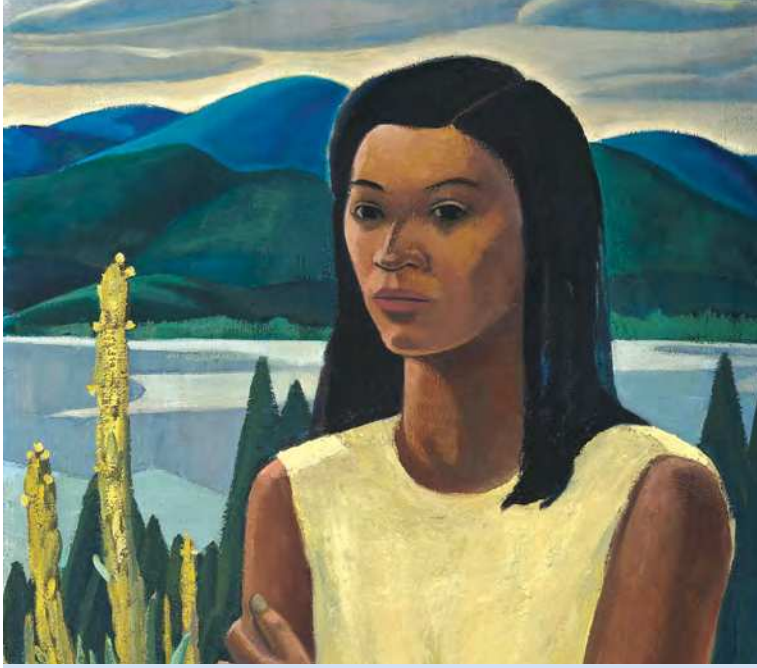
In the group's 1920 debut exhibition catalogue, there's a line that states, "the group of seven artists whose pictures are here exhibited have for several years held a like vision concerning Art in Canada." This statement seems to have inspired your choice of the title for your 2020 centennial exhibition. Why?

Our title, *A Like Vision*, is kind of ironic, because what comes across very clearly is that each artist has a very distinct identity, and they developed in different ways.

They may have started with "a like vision" in terms of what they wanted to achieve — an interest in the Canadian wilderness as an expression of a young country — but nonetheless they were all individual artists. By the end of the exhibition you feel that very clearly.

One of the difficult legacies of the Group of Seven is that very few people could recite all ten members of the Group of Seven. I bet you run out at number five. In that sense, the simplest possible — and strongest — message I want people to leave with is: These were ten really powerful, really individual artists with interesting lives and interesting takes on similar themes — but who nonetheless deserve to be seen in their own right.

TOP RIGHT: MCMICHAEL CANADIAN ART COLLECTION 1966.16.13 © ESTATE OF YVONNE MCKAGUE HOUSSER. CENTER RIGHT: BC ARCHIVES H-02813



Marguerite Pilot of Deep River (Girl with Mulleins), by Yvonne McKague Housser. Oil on canvas, circa 1932.

BRUSHED ASIDE

Special exhibitions will explore the legacies of women and Indigenous artists.

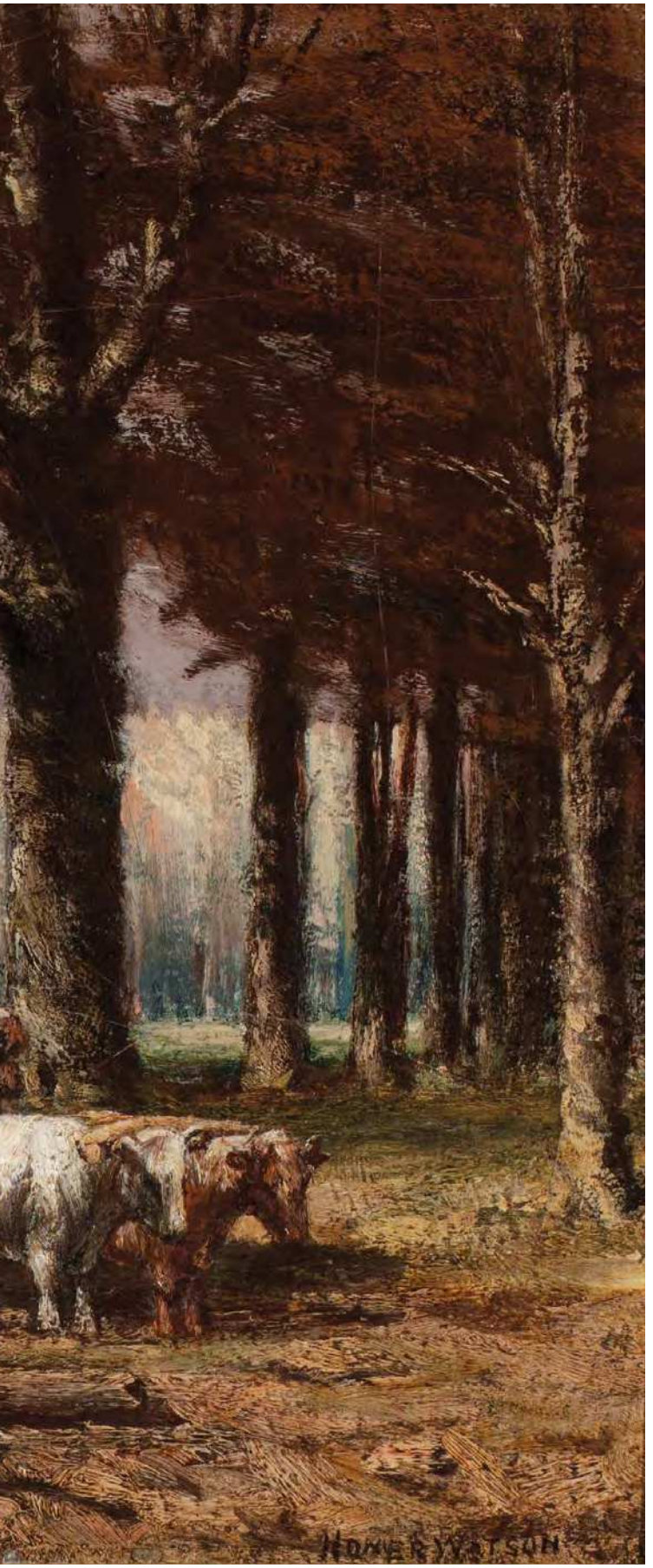
While the white male artists of the Group of Seven respected and admired women painters, they refused to accept them as members.

In 2020, the McMichael Canadian Art Collection will be hosting two special exhibitions that are meant to coincide with and offer commentary on the Group of Seven centenary.

Emily Carr

Uninvited: Canadian Women Artists in the Modern Moment will showcase more than two hundred pieces of art by a generation of extraordinary women painters, photographers and sculptors from a century ago – pioneers who opened new frontiers for women artists in Canada – as well as works made by their Indigenous female contemporaries working in traditional media. This show will be a cross-country snapshot of female creativity and is scheduled to open on September 19.

Meanwhile, *Early Days: Collecting Indigenous Art at the McMichael*, will feature a survey of the gallery's remarkable holdings of Indigenous art – from the masks collected by Robert and Signe McMichael in the 1950s, to the urgent political works of Carl Beam, Faye Heavyshield, and Robert Houle collected in the 1980s and 1990s, to a roster of new acquisitions, including landmark works by Rebecca Belmore, Kent Monkman, Meryl McMaster, and others. *Early Days* is scheduled to run in the fall and winter of 2020.



GROUP OF SEVEN
100TH ANNIVERSARY

CHANGING LANDSCAPES

Homer Watson has long been overshadowed by the Group of Seven, whose art burst onto the scene a century ago as a contrast to his more traditional painting style.

By Nichole Martin

IN OCTOBER 1920, HOMER WATSON HAD a great success with his exhibition at Jenkins Gallery in Toronto. It showcased one hundred paintings he had completed between 1907 and 1918; more than half of the large-scale works sold. It was a welcome ray of sunshine in the darkening days of a once-illustrious career. Although Watson had risen to tremendous heights in the 1880s, selling paintings to famous patrons including Queen Victoria and Oscar Wilde, by 1920 his popularity had waned. Canada's first internationally famous landscape artist was being eclipsed by a fraternity of restless young painters calling themselves the Group of Seven and who sought to upend what they saw as a stuffy Canadian art scene exemplified by the conservative work of Homer Watson. After the emergence of the Group of Seven, Watson found himself at odds with the new Canadian art world, and he would spend the rest of his life fighting to reclaim his former place as one of Canada's leading landscape artists.

Left: Untitled (*Log Cutters in the Woods*) by Homer Watson, oil on canvas, circa 1910.

IMAGES COURTESY HOMER WATSON HOUSE FOUNDATION PERMANENT COLLECTION

Watson's 1920 show stood in contrast to one held earlier the same year — the Group of Seven's first exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario). The show was not an outright critical or commercial success, but within a few short years the group's member painters would become the most celebrated artists in the Canadian art world.

Today, when people think of Canadian landscape paintings, they often think of Tom Thomson's pines, A.Y. Jackson's maples, or Lawren Harris's mountains. Not many think of Homer Watson's *The Pioneer Mill*, but before the 1920s many Canadians would have seen it as the definitive Canadian landscape.

Homer Watson was born into a world vastly different from that of the younger generation of artists. Unlike the members of the Group of Seven, he was a largely self-taught artist who spent most of his life in the small village of Doon, Ontario — now part of the city of Kitchener — where he was born on January 14, 1855. By the time he was twenty-five, his romanticized depictions of settler life in southern Ontario made him the first artist in the newly formed country of Canada to achieve international fame.

His grandfather, James Watson, had been one of the earliest European settlers in Doon, where he built and operated a wool mill. Homer's father, Ransford Watson, took over the business; it was assumed that Homer, the second of five children, would follow in his family's footsteps, especially after the deaths of Ransford in 1861 and then Homer's older brother, Jude, in 1867. Instead, Homer's mother, Susan Mohr Watson, had to sell the mill in order to pay off debts. Beginning at eleven years old, Homer worked at the many mills that surrounded Doon to help to support his family, but he saw this work as temporary; he had other plans.

Homer Watson spent hours studying and drawing paintings by the great European artists, particularly members of the Romantic and French Barbizon schools of landscape painting, and he based his work on the pictures found inside his father's collection of issues of the British publication *The Penny Magazine* that dated from the 1830s. Young Watson also spent a considerable amount of time drawing the natural landscapes that surrounded his family home. These places would act as his muse for his entire life; he made the quickly disappearing way of life of Canada's early settlers his main theme.

In his unfinished and unpublished memoir *A Landscape Painter's Day*, Watson wrote of his decision to return to his beloved Ontario home. "After some years of restless wandering in quest of an adequate medium of expression in art, a desire took possession of me to live again where I knew great

Top left: Untitled (*Two Cows in a Stream*), by Homer Watson, oil on canvas, circa 1886. Above left: An etching of the scene depicted in Watson's famous painting, *The Pioneer Mill*, circa 1889. Right: Homer Watson, 1870s–80s.

IMAGES COURTESY HOMER WATSON HOUSE FOUNDATION PERMANENT COLLECTION

quiet would blend itself luxuriously with the schemes I was developing for my painting. It came to me that, among the nooks and scenes of this village nestling among the hills, I should find ample material to fix in some degree the infinite beauties that emanate from the mystery of sky and land."

Watson's artistic training was very brief — certainly much shorter than that of the Group of Seven artists or Tom Thomson. Watson left Doon for the first time at the age of nineteen and in 1874 studied art at the Toronto Normal School, one of the few places in Canada with an extensive art collection. In 1876 he travelled to New York to study with landscape painter George Inness, who followed the style of the Hudson River School.

He returned home to Doon in 1877 and quickly met with success. In 1880, the Governor General of Canada, the Marquess of Lorne, John Campbell, created the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and the National Gallery of Canada. (He was married to Princess Louise, the fourth daughter of Queen Victoria, who was a talented sculptor in her own right.) In March 1880, the academy's first exhibition took place at the Clarendon Hotel in Ottawa, where Watson's *The Pioneer Mill* was shown for the first time. Painted in a style similar to that of European Romantic painters such as John Constable, it depicts an elderly man walking along a path beside a small waterfall with a beautiful mill on the other side of the stream. Although the setting was in Doon, Watson added tall cliffs in the background that did not exist. The colours are warm, with a pale blue sky emerging from beneath white clouds.

Given his insecurity about his lack of formal art training and education, the success of *The Pioneer Mill* came as a complete surprise. Watson would later describe to his biographer the effort he put into the work. "How I got through the job of making a picture out of the idea I do not know. I worked myself sick; a mixture of agony and pleasure, and finally got to the point of not being able to go any further. There was nothing of line or pattern or design in those days, only the sentiment of an old mill which had been a big factor in the lives of the pioneers."

Campbell purchased *The Pioneer Mill* as a gift for his mother-in-law, Queen Victoria. With the three hundred dollars he received from the sale, Watson was able to marry his childhood sweetheart, Roxanna Bechtel, and in 1882 he bought the house in Doon where, except for a three-year interlude in the United Kingdom, he would spend the rest of his life.

By the time the Group of Seven had formed in 1920, Watson was a sixty-five-year-old widower. After Roxanna's death, his younger sister Phoebe Watson, an artist who specialized in china painting, closed her art store in nearby Galt and moved in with Homer and his eleven-year-old daughter, Mary, whom he and Roxanna had adopted. Phoebe became the curator of Homer's in-house gallery and the chief promoter of his art.

Watson was one of the Canadian art world's most exalted figures. Indeed, he was president of Toronto's Arts & Letters Club when the members of the Group of Seven first began meeting there for lunch to discuss their ideas about art. Modern art historians have estimated that only two per cent of Canadian artists were able to make a living at the time from the sales of their artwork; Watson was one of those fortunate few. His European painting style brought success in an art world that was still heavily influenced by European tastes and schools of art; he sold many works to British and European art collectors.

Phoebe Watson, shown here as a young woman circa 1870s–80s, was her older brother Homer's greatest supporter. She gave up her own art business to curate his in-house gallery.

The Group of Seven's members wanted to break free from these influences — to produce Canadian art for a Canadian clientele. The group's members were inspired in part by the devastation that occurred during the Great War, which several of them had seen up close as official war artists.

In 1910, long before the formation of the Group of Seven, A.Y. Jackson complained that too many Canadian painters were capturing the same images that Watson often depicted in his paintings of "wire fences, milking machines, tractors…." Jackson and the other members of the Group of Seven held that artists should move beyond painting farming scenes of southern Ontario and focus more on the untouched landscapes and nature found in the North.

Watson believed that his landscape paintings were, in fact, distinctly Canadian. He felt his work more accurately portrayed Canada than the Group of Seven's paintings did, because he included people in coexistence with nature. He also criticized the fact that the members of the Group of Seven did not live in the regions featuring the landscapes they painted. While he lived in a small village and fully immersed himself in the surrounding areas that were the subjects of his paintings, members of the group resided in Toronto, where some had previous careers as commercial artists. They travelled to remote areas just long enough to make quick sketches and then retreated back to their big-city lives. (Watson's criticisms did not extend to Tom Thomson. He admired Thomson's

IMAGES COURTESY HOMER WATSON HOUSE FOUNDATION PERMANENT COLLECTION

PAINTING THE GREAT WAR

Like some members of the Group of Seven, Homer Watson also painted scenes from the First World War; but unlike them he never travelled overseas. He received a commission in 1914 from Lieutenant General Sam Hughes, Canada's minister of militia and defence, to paint at the Valcartier training camp in Quebec. Watson produced three works, which were first shown at his home as part of a fundraiser for the war effort arranged by his wife, Roxanna, and the local Red Cross. Hughes had wanted depictions of the military. But, as a critic for the *Montreal Herald* wrote of Watson's *The Ranges (Camp at Sunrise)*, shown above, "He has painted the Valcartier of nature first, and the Valcartier of history secondly." Watson received his second commission after the war ended, from Commander J.K.L. Ross, who was the son of Watson's close friend James Ross. One of the first completed paintings from this commission was rejected, so Watson had to start again. He wrote to his patron in the spring of 1919: "The new picture is growing daily and will be much better in every way." Watson completed four paintings – one of which no longer exists – but neither art critics nor Ross, who had commissioned them, gave them positive reviews. *– Nichole Martin*

commitment to living in the northern Ontario region captured in his paintings and even saw similarities between what he and Thomson were striving to achieve in their art.)

In a 1929 newspaper article titled, in part, "Art Modernism Depreciated By Great Canadian Artist Homer Watson, Pioneer Landscape Painter," Watson told the interviewer he felt that the Group of Seven's lack of emotional connection to the landscapes they painted had a negative effect on their art. "I will admit that older painters were too labored in their efforts and paid too much attention to detail of the 'pretty' type which caused the intelligentsia of art to revolt; but they in turn have, by a process of elimination, and blind worship of symbols, proceeded as logicians at the expense of emotion until there remains nothing in the symbol, and so-called modern paintings are nothing more than advertising posters."

In the same interview Watson emphasized that he was first and foremost a Canadian painter, distancing himself from the European artists with whom he had aligned himself so closely at the beginning of his career. "You would prefer to paint Canadian scenes than any other then?" Watson was asked. "Yes," he replied. "The field for Canadian artists is in Canada. Europe has been overpainted and the hope for a great Canadian art of the future lies in the loving depiction of the beauties of this country, a realization of the fundamental verities of self expression."

Watson also did not believe that the Group of Seven's new style and approach to art was entirely original, suggesting that its members were imitating the Scandinavian landscape painters. It was a fair point, given that J.E.H. MacDonald and Lawren Harris travelled to see an exhibition of Scandinavian works in Buffalo, New York, in 1913 and were reportedly very inspired by what they saw. MacDonald was quoted as saying, after the trip to Buffalo, "This is what we want to do in Canada."

Watson had strong critical views regarding the painting styles of the Group of Seven artists, and during the 1920s and 1930s he often aired these opinions publicly. In a 1935 article in Waterloo College's *The Grumbler* magazine, entitled "The Artist," student reporter Lily Siderson asked the elderly Watson his opinion of the Group of Seven.

"They have made quite a noise in Canadian Art, but most people don't understand them. A great many things they do are perfectly logical. They've attempted in a broad way to present a truth. It's not a new truth, but it's built on suggestions instead of working out a thing photographically. They believe in broad general principles. Generally speaking, the more you can get in a simple sentence the more striking it is. If the idea of it is cluttered up with words, it is not easily grasped. Likewise, the Group of Seven have endeavoured to work out an idea in a broad suggestive way wherein one stroke would express more than fifty strokes. But the idea is to get to know Nature so well that you can express it with one stroke what would ordinarily take fifty strokes to express. Can they do that? Have they got to that point?"

Near the end of the interview, Watson added, "Here and there I've seen an approach to it among the Group of Seven, but I question whether among them the great master has yet appeared."

Phoebe Watson echoed her brother's views, albeit somewhat less politely, in one of her personal journals dating from around the same time. Her writing makes up in pungency what it lacks in grammar and punctuation. "Homer's reaction to the modern trend in art was an indulgent one he thought that they would find themselves eventually in the meantime he deplored their egotistical stand in condemning the older school, he thought it was like a child condemning their ABC's because they could not learn that 2+2 makes four … there are certain laws in nature and there are certain laws in the representation of that nature which have to be obeyed if we are to advance in any art."

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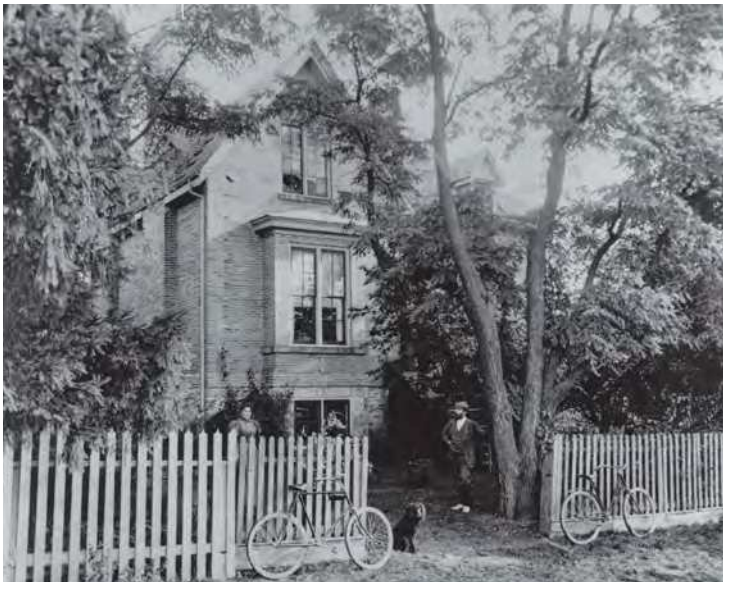

Top left: *Doon From Oregon Hill*, by Homer Watson, oil on board, circa 1870.

Top right: *The Swollen Creek*, by Homer Watson, oil on canvas, circa 1870.

Above: Homer Watson felt Tom Thomson, shown here, had more appreciation for nature than the artists who would form the Group of Seven.

Centre right: Homer Watson and wife, Roxanna Watson, stand outside their home in Doon (now part of Kitchener, Ontario) circa 1900s.

Right: Untitled (*Road to Doon*), by Homer Watson, oil on board, circa 1933.

IMAGES COURTESY HOMER WATSON HOUSE FOUNDATION PERMANENT COLLECTION, EXCEPT LOWER LEFT: LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA 4203786

It's not surprising that Phoebe would have such strong feelings; she was a great supporter of her brother's art throughout her life. At the age of fourteen, she quit school and took a position as a clerk at a local store so that Homer could move to Toronto to focus on his art. The sudden success of the Group of Seven would surely have made Phoebe worry that her brother and his work would be left behind, forgotten by the ever-changing Canadian art world.

Those concerns would turn out to be well-founded. In 1924, the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley Park opened in the United Kingdom, showcasing, among other things, the best art from the British colonies. This exhibition remained open to the public until 1925. Paintings by the Group of Seven and the late Tom Thomson in the Canadian pavilion received the most attention; the show positioned them as the country's most important artists.

Watson, on the other hand, found himself an artist on the decline. He had not foreseen the rapid changes that would

THE FLOOD GATE

Homer Watson's best-known and most critically praised painting is *The Flood Gate*, which returns to his favourite theme of rural life. The viewer first notices the painting's dark sky and the trees that are almost being pulled from the ground by the wind. A struggle is taking place in the foreground as a man tries in desperation to open the floodgates during a gathering storm.

In the years after its completion in 1900, Watson turned down many offers for the work, which had been publicly praised by future Group of Seven members A.Y. Jackson and Arthur Lismer. In 1925, almost deaf, with declining health, and facing poor sales of his work, Watson finally decided it was time to sell his masterpiece. He contacted Eric Brown, director of the National Gallery in Ottawa, who offered just $2,500, rather than the $5,000 Watson had requested. After long negotiations he finally received $3,000. Watson believed the sale was only temporary, but he was never able to buy back the painting. *The Flood Gate* remains at the National Gallery in Ottawa.
— Nichole Martin

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA 3343

take place in the art world following the Great War and had naively believed that his art would always be in high demand. Oscar Wilde had nicknamed him "the Canadian Constable," referring to the renowned British landscape artist John Constable — a quip that had initially aided Watson's success but ultimately became a hindrance for the elderly artist. Watson realized that to continue to be seen as one of Canada's most important artists, and in order for his paintings to remain in demand, he would have to adapt his painting style.

Although he was widely seen as a standard bearer for an outmoded style of painting by the time he mused to *The Grumbler* about the Group of Seven, he was in fact adopting a more modern approach to his own painting. During the last two decades of his life, Watson's style changed dramatically, moving away from the European influences of his youth to what he referred to as his "take on modernism." While his subject was still the landscapes of Doon, the look and feel of these later paintings were entirely different from works like *The Flood Gate* and *The Pioneer Mill*. The brush strokes were thicker, and people were now depicted with a speck of paint thrown onto the canvas. The art critics did not appreciate this new painting style; some even questioned whether Watson was trying to copy the Group of Seven.

Watson maintained that he was finding a more Canadian style of painting on his own, but that if he was influenced by any approach to art it was that of the French Impressionists. In a 1922 letter to a friend, he explained the dramatic change: "I consider smooth, meticulous painting is an offence against the vital feeling one has when studying the beautiful and strong forces of nature as we have it in Canada…. The paint must come alive with vitality and not dead with inane prettiness."

Watson's new style was not as popular with collectors, who either wanted his old work or had moved on to more modern painting styles. He lost his life savings in the 1929 stock market crash, and, in desperation, borrowed money from a local bank, the Waterloo Trust. The bank would eventually own all of Watson's paintings and his home but allowed the aging artist and his sister to continue to live in the house. Homer and Phoebe Watson even developed a close friendship with Waterloo Trust employee Ross Hamilton, who was assigned the job of promoting and selling Homer's paintings.

Right up until his death, Watson tried to reclaim the fame and success he had achieved as a young man; when he died on May 27, 1936, a painting of Doon sat unfinished on the easel in his personal studio.

Members of the Group of Seven, rather than Homer Watson, are often cited as being the first truly Canadian artists, even though Watson's paintings mostly predate theirs. A 1966 memo written by C.J. Rempel from the Homer Watson estate is a testament to how close this important Canadian artist came to being forgotten entirely. "Tuesday, December 6th, I spent in Toronto in an effort to acquaint the better known Art Dealers with the availability of our Homer Watson paintings in the hope of interesting some of them in either purchasing outright or taking one or two on approval. Today was a discouraging one from the standpoint of results as there seems to be no market whatsoever for Homer Watson paintings of this size. Two of the dealers each had one Homer Watson but apparently not in a position to find purchasers."

Through the years, though, there have always been advocates for Watson and his art. His greatest masterpieces can still be seen at the National Gallery in Ottawa and the Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto. *The Pioneer Mill* is still part of the British Royal Collection Trust; it hangs in Buckingham Palace along with another of Watson's paintings, *The Last Day of the Drought*. In 1969 commercial artist Tom Cayley, his wife, Ruthe, and their daughter bought and moved into Watson's former house. They reopened it to the public, displaying his paintings and making the home an art school. The city of Kitchener bought the home from Ruthe Cayley in 1980 and turned it into a public art gallery that continues to celebrate the art of Homer Watson as well as local contemporary art.

By 1936, even though sales of his paintings had declined sharply and he was no longer seen as the pre-eminent Canadian landscape painter, Watson remained optimistic about the future. He said to his daughter shortly before his death, "You know, Mary, I feel I shall never have time to die. I have so much more to do yet. However, I have a whole life's experience to build on; and I have a great many new ideas."

Group of Seven member Frederick Varley teaches Jane Van Every, Homer Watson's niece, at the Doon School of Fine Arts, circa 1948.

AN ARTISTIC LEGACY

Following the death of Homer Watson's sister Phoebe Watson in 1947, Ross and Bess Hamilton in 1948 bought the former Watson home from the Waterloo Trust bank and opened the Doon School of Fine Arts. Modelled after The Banff School of Fine Arts, it aspired to keep Homer Watson's legacy alive and his home a place of artistic learning. One of its first art instructors was Group of Seven member Frederick Varley. Group members A.Y. Jackson and A.J. Casson sat on the school's newly formed board of directors and taught art classes during its operation from 1948 to 1966. — *Nichole Martin*

IMAGES COURTESY HOMER WATSON HOUSE FOUNDATION PERMANENT COLLECTION

A sketch described as being of Tsilhqot'in leader Klattasine (there are many variant spellings of his name), circa 1876, from a book by Anglican missionary R.C. Lundin-Brown.

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DEFENDING THE LAND

A First Nation's successful battle to win title over its traditional territory has deep roots in colonial history.

by Andrew Findlay

EVERY OCTOBER 26, THE TSILHQOT'IN people gather to remember five ancestors convicted of murder and sentenced to death in 1864 in Judge Matthew Begbie's uncompromising court in Quesnel, B.C. The tale began in the spring of that year, when leaders of the Tsilhqot'in (often written as Chilcotin), including Chief Klattasine, travelled from the Chilcotin Plateau through the rugged Coast Mountains before following the rushing Homathko River downstream. Eventually they encountered a settler work party pushing through a wagon road to better link the B.C. coast with the Cariboo goldfields.

The road was initiated by Alfred Waddington, an Englishman who had sailed for California in 1850 to join the gold rush after failing at a series of business enterprises in Europe. By 1858 he was in Victoria to open a branch of a wholesale grocery firm, seeking to profit from the Fraser River gold rush. In 1861, when prospectors struck gold in the Cariboo, the ever-enterprising Waddington conceived of a toll road from the head of Bute Inlet to the interior.

Construction began in 1862, but two years later Waddington's dream met with resistance from the Tsilhqot'in people, who occupied a region on the eastern slopes of the Coast Mountains, across the plateau toward present-day Williams Lake. In a series of raids beginning on April 29, 1864, Klattasine (also known as Lhatsassin, Klatsassin, and Klatsassan) and his party ambushed and killed at least eighteen non-Indigenous people, including fourteen road workers.

Because of the violence, the road project was scuttled; the venture virtually bankrupted Waddington. "The personal loss to myself will be most considerable," he stated in court, though his later requests for compensation from the government were denied.

Matthew Begbie, shown circa 1860s, presided over the trial of Klattasine and his men.

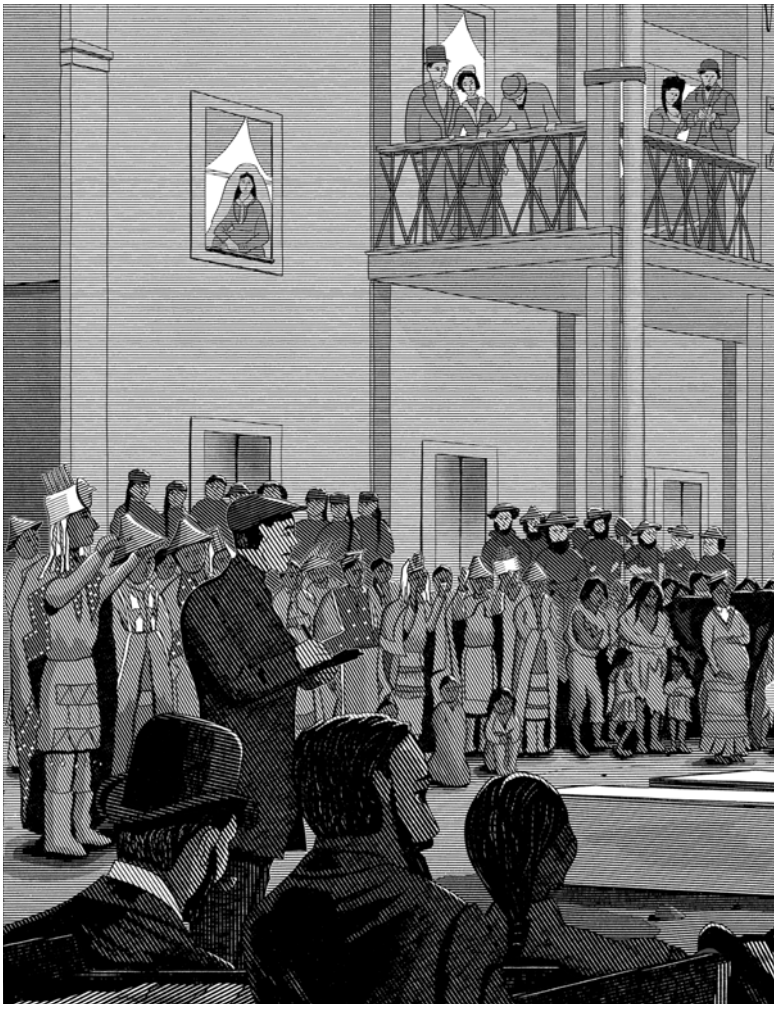
BC ARCHIVES C-08556

While Waddington and many of his fellow colonists likely viewed the Tsilhqot'in actions as brazen murder and robbery, Klattasine and his men saw themselves as carrying out a defensive war. They were avenging the poor treatment of Tsilhqot'in workers under Waddington's command, protecting their people from the scourge of smallpox, and, most of all, defending their land. This clash of colonial ambition and Indigenous resistance would, 150 years later, help to lay the foundation of the Tsilhqot'in people's claims to sovereignty over their remote territory in the B.C. interior.

Following the conflict, Fredrick Seymour, who had then recently succeeded James Douglas as governor of British Columbia, took swift action. In what became known as the Chilcotin War, Seymour sent William Cox, gold commissioner for the Boundary and Cariboo districts of the colony of British Columbia, and a contingent of men to search for the warriors. Cox's party was joined by Donald McLean, a cattle rancher and fur trader formerly employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Frustrated over the lack of progress made by Cox and his militia, McLean set off on his own and was shot and killed by Klattasine at the north end of Chilko Lake.

Eventually, the chiefs entered Cox's camp, on a promise of amnesty that turned out to be an act of deceit. No sooner had the chiefs turned themselves in than they were shackled and charged with murder. The ensuing trial came before the court of Matthew Begbie, who had arrived from Great Britain four years earlier to take up an appointment as the colony's first and only

The mural *"Justice"; Judge Begbie Holding Court,* 1933–35, by George Southwell, is shown in a black-and-white photograph from around the same time. The mural was actually a colour painting in the rotunda of the B.C. legislature before it was plastered over and repainted.



Right: *Martyrdom of "The Chilcotin Chiefs" by the Colony of British Columbia*, a digital image that mimics the style of traditional woodcut illustrations, by Shawn Swanky, 2015.

judge. Begbie was not without admiration for the enigmatic Klattasine, a father of five whose name in Tsilhqot'in means "we do not know his name." Begbie referred to Klattasine as "the finest [Indigenous person] I have met with." Begbie in fact met with a great many Indigenous people in his work and became fluent in the Tsilhqot'in and Shuswap languages. He often displayed leniency towards Indigenous people in his court — but not in this case.

In a swift trial, Klattasine and four of his fellow warriors were convicted and sentenced to death. They died on the scaffold in Quesnellmouth on October 26, 1864; a sixth man was executed the following year in New Westminster. Klattasine's final words were, "We meant war, not murder."

Among those who were impressed by Klattasine was Anglican missionary R.C. Lundin-Brown, who ministered to the chief between the trial and his execution, noting his "strong frame, piercing dark blue eyes, aquiline nose and very powerful jaw, [which] proclaimed the man of intelligence, ambition, strong force of will."

The executions did not mark the end of the Chilcotin War story. Well over a century later, in 1993, Judge Anthony Sarich released the findings of the Cariboo-Chilcotin Justice Inquiry looking into poor relations between First Nations and law enforcement. In his report, he recommended that a posthumous pardon be granted to the Tsilhqot'in war chiefs, due to the treachery of William Cox, who had induced the men to surrender in a false peace parley. Later in 1993, the province unveiled a memorial plaque next to the Fraser River in Quesnel, "to honour those who lost their lives in defence of the territory and the traditional way of life of the Tsilhqot'in."

In 2014, the province went further when Premier Christy Clark formally exonerated the chiefs. Speaking before the B.C. legislature, Clark acknowledged that "these chiefs were not criminals, and they were not outlaws. They were warriors, they were leaders, and they were engaged in a territorial dispute to defend their lands and people."

More than a century and a half after these executions, Roger William — who in 2014 was the chief of the Xeni Gwet'in Nation, one of six communities that form the Tsilhqot'in National Government — summoned the memory of Klattasine as a reminder that their struggle is deeply rooted in history. "We tell that story to our youth. It binds our youth, and elders, and all our community together," William said from his home at the western end of the Nemaiah Valley.

Historically, the Tsilhqot'in were strongly independent — and in many ways they still are. Firmly rooted to their lands, they resisted contact and trade with European settlers. In the fall of 1829, when the HBC opened Fort Chilcotin near present-day Alexis Creek, the chief factor of New Caledonia — the HBC's name for its trading region in present-day north-central British Columbia — William Connolly, reported the Tsilhqot'in to be hostile and uninterested in trade. The HBC abandoned the fort the following spring, and the Tsilhqot'in burned the structure to the ground.

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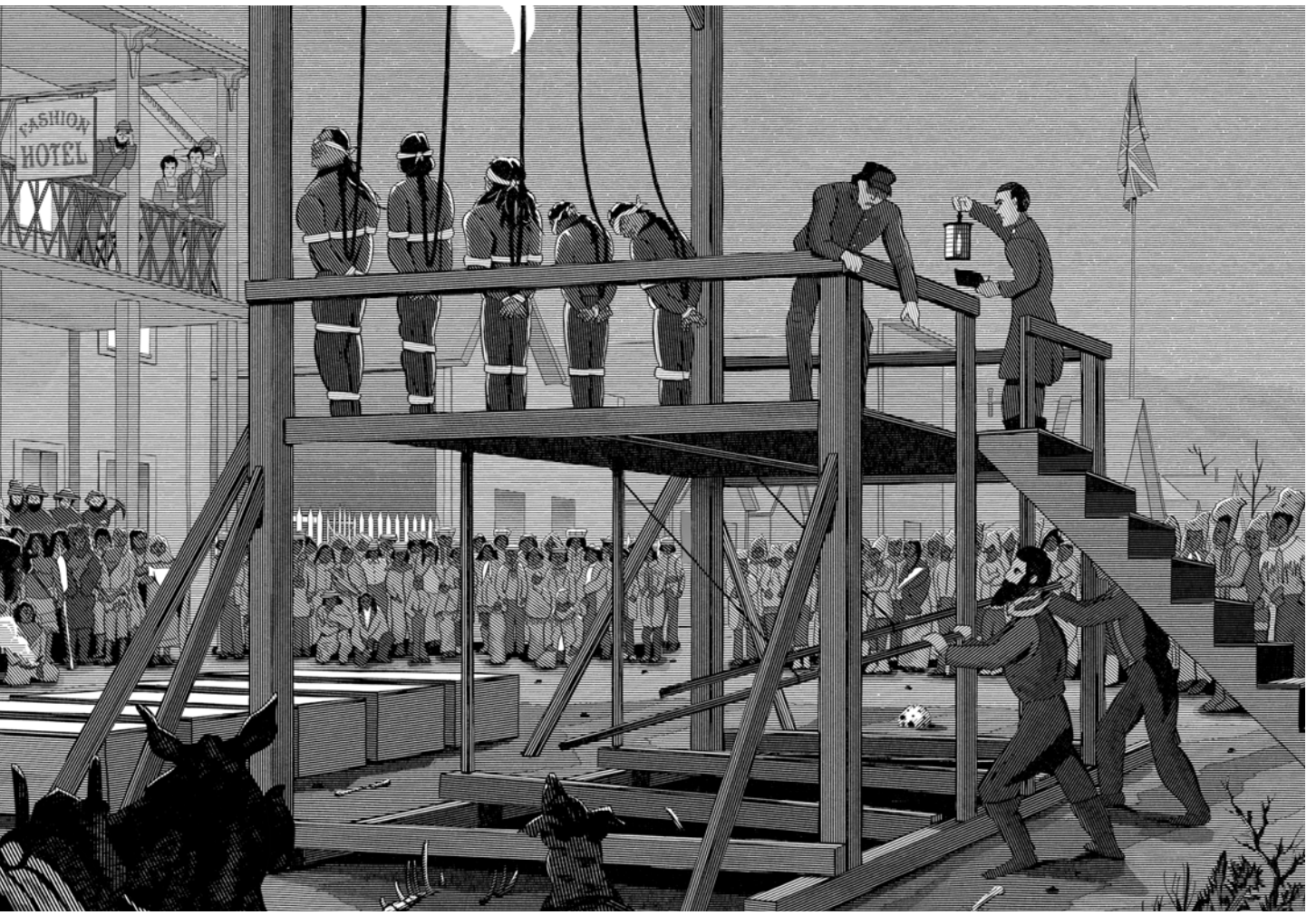


SHAWN SWANKY

The HBC rebuilt and staffed the fort for another ten years, but it proved a challenging assignment for traders, so the company permanently abandoned Fort Chilcotin in 1844. Though the manner of expressing resistance has changed since the HBC's early and ineffectual efforts to foster trade, and the violent events on the Homathko River that led to the Chilcotin War, the Tsilhqot'in have remained steadfast and resolute.

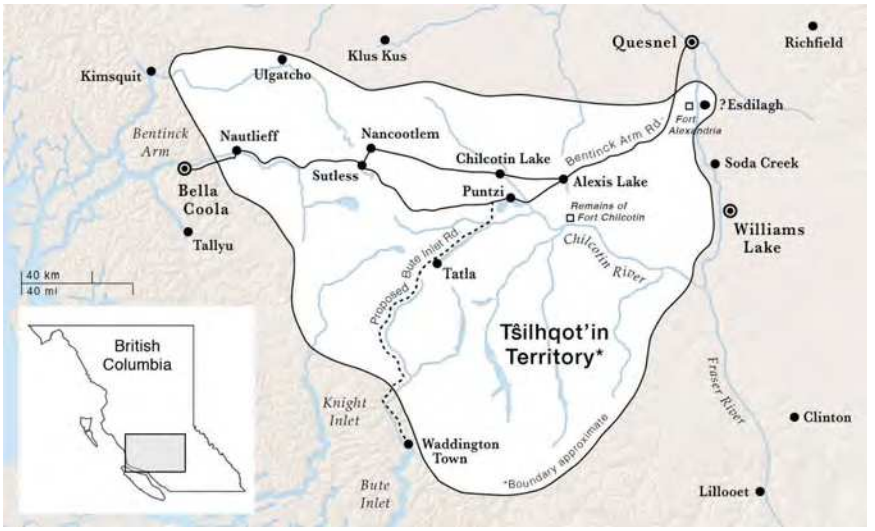
For the Tsilhqot'in people, the year 2014 was about much more than a formal apology for a 150-year-old miscarriage of justice; it was also the year that the eyes of politicians and Indigenous people across Canada focused on this remote region after the Supreme Court of Canada gave the Tsilhqot'in no-strings-attached title to nearly two thousand square kilometres of territory. They also received the right to hunt, to fish, and to forage on an additional 2,400 square kilometres of land.

The Tsilhqot'in people are divided among six small bands: Tl'etinqos, Tsi Deldel, Tl'esqos, ?Esdilagh, Yunestin, and the Xeni Gwet'in. However, it is the Xeni Gwet'in, a community of some 450 members who live in the postcard-beautiful Nemaiah Valley, who have been at the forefront of modern-day Tsilhqot'in political struggle.

The Chilcotin Plateau is a long way from the courtrooms of Vancouver. It would be difficult to conjure a more characteristic B.C. landscape — rolling ranchland, lakes, snow-capped peaks, rivers teeming with salmon that have travelled hundreds of kilometres from the ocean to spawn, no shortage of colourful characters, and a strong Indigenous presence.

Within this sprawling landscape, the home territory of the Xeni Gwet'in lies on the eastern slopes of the Coast Mountains around Chilko Lake. Scoured by the retreat of continental ice sheets, the Nemaiah Valley forms a broad U-shaped quilt of conifers and aspen-dappled meadows flanked by mountains peaking at more than three thousand metres. It wasn't until the 1970s that a bridge was built over the Taseko River, linking the valley by road to Highway 20, which cuts west for 450 kilometres from Williams Lake to Bella Coola on the coast. From its headwaters at Konni Lake, Nemaiah Creek meanders along the twenty-five-kilometre-long valley to its outlet, where it pours into emerald-coloured Chilko Lake against a backdrop of the glacier-shrouded Coast Mountains.

If the Xeni Gwet'in have been at the vanguard among their neighbouring Tsilhqot'in communities, then Roger William, a skilled horseman and rodeo rider, has often been the face and name leading the struggle. Bespectacled, soft-spoken, and slight



Left: A map of Tsilhqot'in territory within the province of British Columbia.

Opposite page left: A plaque on the Fraser River near Quesnel, B.C., marks the place where five Tsilhqot'in chiefs were hanged.

Opposite page right: Peyal Laceese, youth ambassador for the Tsilqhot'in National Government, celebrates Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's exoneration of the Tsilhqot'in chiefs in the House of Commons, March 26, 2018.

in stature, the former chief seems an unlikely cowboy, and his path to being a community leader was not an easy one. He didn't speak English at all until he was sent to St. Joseph's Mission residential school in Williams Lake. He struggled with alcohol as a young man and witnessed the devastating social impacts of the residential school system, in the form of substance abuse, fractured families, and emotional and physical trauma.

Despite these challenges, William thrived on the rodeo circuit and maintained a close connection to his land and people. The Nemaiah Valley Rodeo is held every August and is where Tsilhqot'in cowboys and cowgirls showcase their horsemanship. Numerous times as a younger man, William won the legendary and dangerous mountain race, in which riders hurtle at breakneck speed down a mountainside.

Horses even played a bit part in William's political baptism in 1989, when, as a twenty-three-year-old band councillor, he brought forward a claim for rights to a trapline threatened by logging. The territory is in the Brittany Triangle, where for generations the Xeni Gwet'in have captured horses from small wild herds that are believed to be genetically linked to the mustangs that arrived with the Spanish more than four centuries ago.

When logging seemed imminent in 1992, the Xeni Gwet'in and other Tsilhqot'in community members blocked the only bridge into the Brittany Triangle. The roadblock ended when Mike Harcourt's New Democratic Party provincial government agreed to negotiate with the Xeni Gwet'in to develop a mutually acceptable forest-management plan. When negotiations failed, the Xeni Gwet'in returned to the courts, eventually making legal history in the Supreme Court of Canada, where Justice Beverley McLachlin and eight other judges unanimously granted the Tsilhqot'in title. This victory owed a debt to previous important court decisions. Indeed, multiple Supreme Court of Canada decisions have shaped these complex and multi-faceted issues over the past fifty years. In 1967, Frank Calder and other Nisga'a elders sued the province of British Columbia, declaring that title to their lands had never been extinguished through treaty or any other means. The resulting 1973 *Calder* decision firmly dismantled the doctrine of *terra nullius* — the idea that no one owned the land prior to European countries' assertion of sovereignty — upon which previous courts had denied Indigenous title. The 1997 *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* ruling built on *Calder* by clearly articulating how First Nations can assert title through proving their use and occupation of land prior to European sovereignty claims. The decision, which came about after Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en elders claimed title in 1984 to lands in northwestern British Columbia, also made another significant determination: mandating courts to treat oral history as equal to other types of evidence.

"When we started with the court case, we never knew how long it would take. Our communities were in survival mode at the time, but our position was clear. We always said this is unceded territory," William said in a 2017 interview, not long before stepping down from his fifth term as chief to deal with a personal matter.

John Borrows, Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law, noted that the Tsilhqot'in won their land title outside of a treaty process. This could have broad implications for land use in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada, if more First Nations turn to the courts — rather than treaty negotiations — to assert jurisdiction over their territories.

"There is no implementation, as there would be in a treaty," Borrows said. "The courts have recognized that the Tsilhqot'in have the right to do what they want to do with this land." He added that the decision will have a huge impact on how other First Nations pursue their interests in the future. "I do think there is less willingness to participate in treaty negotiation and a greater appetite for courts."

However, the Tsilhqot'in victory also came at great cost: twenty-five years of struggle and a 339-day trial costing the province roughly $40 million. And there is still much work to be done. Economic opportunities remain scarce for the Tsilhqot'in. They must develop land-use laws, regulations, and institutions for title lands. It has also been a bumpy transition for several non-Indigenous tourism operators,

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like ROAM (Rivers Oceans and Mountains), which bought property on the Chilko River — smack in the heart of the claimed territory — in 2012, two years before the Tsilhqot'in won their rights and title case. In 2016, ROAM and several other tourism operators in the area received a letter from the Xeni Gwet'in council putting them on notice that they do not have authorization to offer certain activities on title lands, such as bear viewing.

Ashley Scanlan, who speaks for ROAM, says the relationship with the Xeni Gwet'in has improved under the leadership of Chief Jimmy Lulua, who was elected in 2018. "Chief Jimmy has made some positive steps in an attempt to move forward with local operators, but it is obviously complicated, and the problems are still long-term, without sight of resolution," Scanlan said.

While the Tsilhqot'in people continue to chart a path forward for how best to manage their territories, their leaders are embroiled in another ongoing conflict, fighting a controversial open-pit mine that brings back memories of 1864, when they opposed construction of the road leading to the Cariboo goldfields. The New Prosperity gold and copper mine, 125 kilometres southwest of Williams Lake, has been the focus of a bitter, decade-long battle. First proposed in 2008, the mine is within the territory where the Tsilhqot'in have the right to hunt, trap, and fish, but it is not within the title land area.

The Tsilhqot'in claim that the mine infringes on their rights, that it would irreparably harm grizzly habitat, and that it would damage a sacred lake, Teztan Biny (Fish Lake), which the company had planned to use as an impoundment pond for waste rock.

Vancouver-based Taseko Mines has since revised its plan in order to save the lake. The company argues that the project would generate ten billion dollars in combined federal and provincial taxes over its twenty-year lifespan. While the federal government has rejected the provincially approved mine on environmental grounds, the company launched a constitutional challenge against the *Canadian Environmental Protection Act*, arguing that it goes too far in protecting the interests of Indigenous peoples. In December 2017, Taseko Mines lost an application for a judicial review of the federal government's rejection of the mine. However, early in 2019, the B.C. Supreme Court gave the company a green light to begin exploratory drilling on the property.

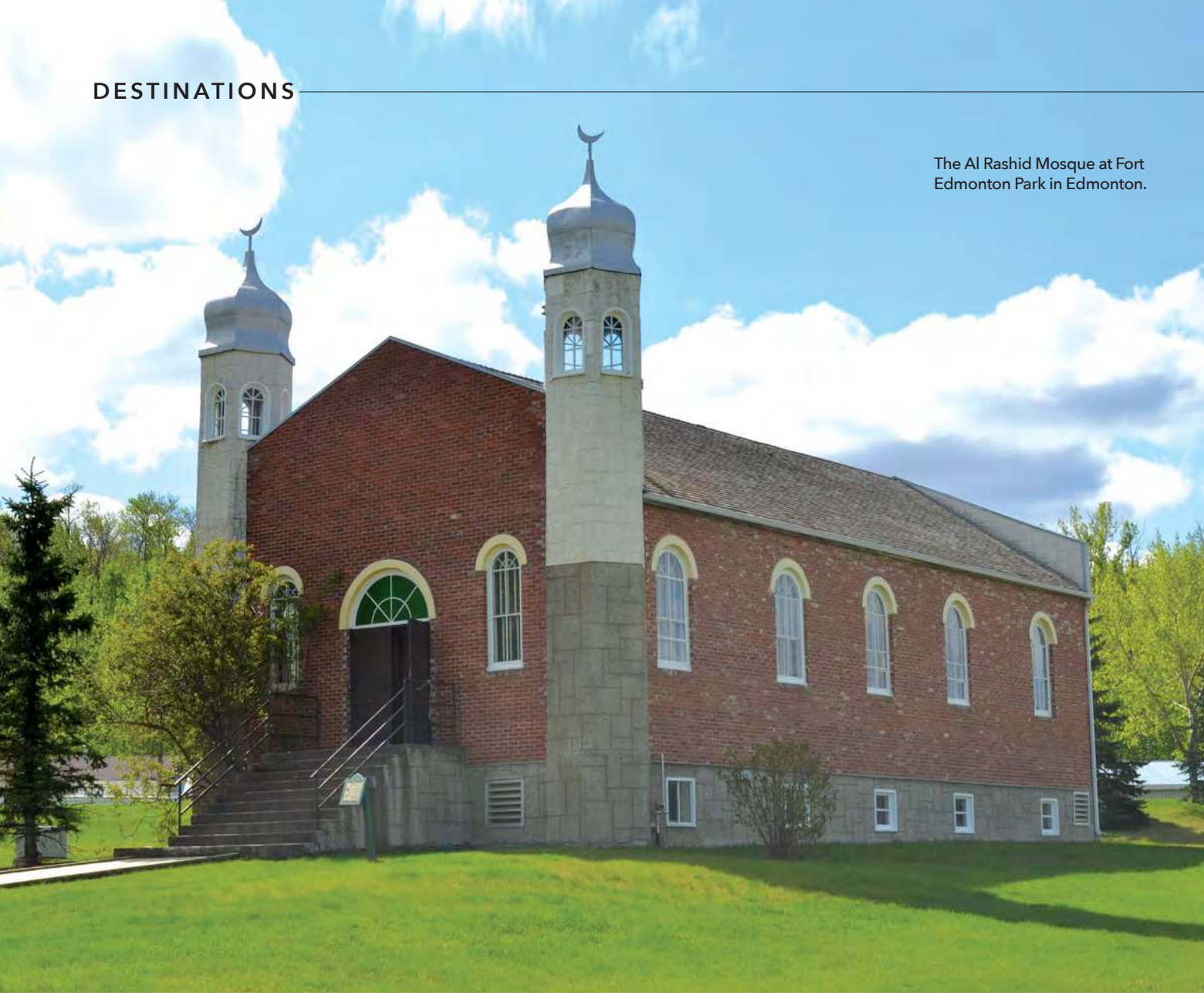
To help to bolster their case, and to assert their claim to the land in question, the Tsilhqot'in in 2014 unilaterally designated the area around the proposed mine as Dasiqox Tribal Park. (The park is not recognized by the province.) Following the most recent provincial court decision, which allows for exploratory drilling, Joe Alphonse, chief of the Tl'etinqox First Nation (Anaheim Lake) and tribal chairman of the Tsilhqot'in National Government, said his people would assess all their options to oppose Taseko's drilling program.

The Tsilhqot'in have come a long way since 1864, when they took up arms to impress upon colonial authorities that they had a right to protect the land on which they had been living for generations. Their efforts have since been vindicated by the courts.

The late British Columbia Supreme Court Justice David Vickers, while presiding over the Tsilhqot'in people's flagship case that began in 2002, spoke at length about the trial's importance in the context of reconciliation between Canada and Indigenous peoples: "Tsilhqot'in people have survived despite centuries of colonization. The central question is whether Canadians can meet the challenges of decolonization…. The denial or avoidance of this constitutional responsibility is unacceptable if there is to be a just reconciliation in this era of decolonization."

"Decolonization" was strong language for a judge to use as well as a wake-up call for governments and lawmakers that big changes lay ahead for anyone doing business on territory never ceded by First Nations. For the Tsilhqot'in people, the battle for rights and title began when the first fur traders ventured into their territory more than a century and a half ago, and it continues today.

TOP LEFT: SHAWN SWANKY; TOP RIGHT: CP IMAGES/SEAN KILPATRICK 18798200



The Al Rashid Mosque at Fort Edmonton Park in Edmonton.

Little mosque on the prairie

Historic site helps to tell the story of Muslims in Canada. *by Joel Trono-Doerksen*

It's a humble and sparsely furnished building that may not have the grandeur of the great mosques of Damascus, Syria, Cairo, Egypt, or Istanbul, Turkey.

But, for Canadian Muslims, Edmonton's original Al Rashid Mosque, which was replaced by a new Al Rashid Mosque in 1982, marks a monumental chapter in a story dating back more than a century. It was Canada's first mosque, and its story continues to be told.

My wife Kubra and I visited the original Al Rashid Mosque on a hot June day in 2014, and it was an opportunity not only to see the historic building that first opened its doors in 1938 but also to learn about the history of Muslims in Canada.

I learned the first Canadian census was taken in 1871, and it showed that there were thirteen known Muslims living in Canada. The first Muslims to arrive in Canada in large groups came mostly from what are now Lebanon and Syria in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Upon entering the 148-square-metre mosque, which sits in the Fort Edmonton Park tourist attraction, I was immediately curious to know why Canada's first mosque was built in a prairie city in Alberta that, at the time, was home to fewer than ninety thousand residents.

Before visiting the mosque I read the book *Canada's First Mosque: The Al Rashid*, by Richard Asmet Awid. Christian Arabs who immigrated during the same period had already established a Christian community in eastern Canada. Muslims, on the other hand, had no established community in the east and mainly opted to go west, the book explains.

In the early 1930s in Edmonton, Mayor John Fry was approached by a group of

PAULA E. KIRMAN

Al Rashid Mosque
This building is the original Al Rashid Mosque built in 1938 at the corner of 101 Street and 108 Avenue and used until 1980. It was moved in 1946 to 102 Street and 111 Avenue, and finally to Fort Edmonton Park in 1990. It is nationally significant in that it is believed to be the first Mosque built in Canada.
Al Rashid Mosque on the original site 101 Street and 108 Avenue
In Edmonton during the 1930s, a small but thriving Muslim community strove to maintain their traditions. Concerned about losing their culture in a new community, a group set about to fundraise for the construction of a Mosque. Despite initial setbacks, devout members merely went beyond Edmonton asking for assistance from Muslims all over Alberta and Saskatchewan as well as from other Arab Canadians. Amongst the most enthusiastic were Hilwie Hamdon and Darwish Teha, who traveled far and wide seeking donations that ultimately came from Muslims, Christian Arabs and many non-Muslims as well as from neighbourhood ventures such as bake sales and community suppers.
Mike Drewoth, a Ukrainian Canadian, was the contractor who completed the building late in 1938. The first religious function to be held in the Mosque was Muslim businessman Ali Tarrabains's funeral in November. The official inauguration took place on December 12, 1938. Hanna's Mayor, I.E. Shakes, was the master of ceremonies and Edmonton's Mayor, John Fry, officiated on behalf of the City of Edmonton. Allamah Abdallah Yusif Ali, revered Muslim scholar and translator of the Holy Quran, conducted the dedication. James Ailley assumed religious duties of the Mosque in 1938, acting as Imam until 1959.
From the very beginning this Mosque was a community place where people of all faiths from the neighbourhood were invited to gather and join in the festivities. The main floor was used for prayers, lectures, weddings, funerals, and other religious functions while the basement was used for social gatherings, teas, dinners, bazaars and business meetings. The Al Rashad Mosque became a spiritual and social centre of the Museum community of Edmonton and a shrine for all Muslims of Canada.

A plaque outside the original Al Rashid Mosque in Fort Edmonton Park tells some of the history of Canada's first mosque.

Muslims seeking a donation of a plot of land on which a mosque could be built for the region's growing Muslim community. The city's Muslims felt that a mosque would be more than just a place of worship — it would become the centre of their burgeoning community. Their lobbying efforts were successful, and the building was opened in 1938.

Thanks to the presence of the mosque, Edmonton's Muslim community continued to grow, as many Muslim families were drawn to the city. Over the years, the community flourished, rising to more than sixteen thousand people by the early 1980s.

To accommodate the increase in numbers, a new and larger building was needed. In 1982, the new Al Rashid Mosque opened its doors.

The original mosque, built on Edmonton city property, was slated for demolition in the early 1990s. But, thanks to lobbying by the Muslim community, the building was saved. It was moved to Fort Edmonton Park in 1992. A visit to Fort Edmonton Park was also an opportunity to immerse ourselves in the history of Edmonton. The park has become one of the city's most popular tourist attractions and features a number of historical buildings representing four distinct time periods that explore Edmonton's development from a fur-trading post in the northwest to the metropolitan centre it is today.

Kubra and I met Richard Asmet Awid, the author of *Canada's First Mosque* during our 2014 visit. He gave us a tour and told us about the history of the structure and of the first Muslims to immigrate to Canada. He explained that many Muslims changed their names upon arriving in the country in the hopes of more easily integrating in to Canadian society. And so, some went from Ahmed to Frank, or Ismail to Sam, all in an effort to better fit in to a society that, otherwise, may not have welcomed them.

Today, the Edmonton Muslim community consists of more than sixty thousand residents from at least sixty-two different ethnic backgrounds. As I sat and prayed on the decades-old carpet in the decades-old building, I thought not only about the early history of Canadian Muslims but also about the astounding growth of the Muslim community across Canada. From thirteen Muslims in 1871 to more than one million today is an amazing story — one whose humble beginnings can be traced directly back to Edmonton's little mosque on the prairie.

COURTESY OF FORT EDMONTON PARK; TOP RIGHT: CANADIAN MUSEUM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Virtual explorations

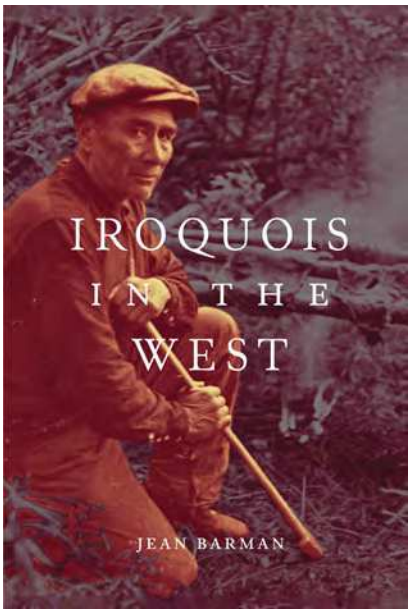
In a time of necessary physical distancing, Canadian museums and galleries are finding ways to offer continued access to their collections as well as to the insights and lessons provided by installations and curatorial staff.

For instance, shortly after being forced to close its doors to the public in March, the Winnipeg-based Canadian Museum for Human Rights created a guided virtual tour that allows people across the country – and around the world – to explore its spaces and exhibits from a safe distance. An initial twenty-five-minute tour of the museum's Indigenous Perspectives and Canadian Journeys galleries includes the story of human rights defender Viola Desmond.

The Vancouver Art Gallery responded to the temporary closure of its exhibition spaces with its new Art Connects series, which features interactive conversations with members of the local and international arts communities plus activities such as live tours.

Meanwhile, the Virtual Museum of Canada provides remote access to museum exhibitions and community stories from across the country. Visitors can tour historic sites such as the Monastery of the Ursulines of Québec and can explore online exhibits such as *Nikkei Tapestry: Japanese Canadians in Southern Alberta*, from the Galt Museum & Archives in Lethbridge, Alberta, and *Gold: A Nova Scotia Treasure*, from the Art Gallery of Nova Scotia in Halifax.

Check to see how museums in your own region are offering online access, and take the opportunity to explore exhibits from other parts of the country without having to leave home. – *Phil Koch*



CULTURAL RESILIENCE

Iroquois in the West

by Jean Barman
McGill-Queen's University Press,
314 pages, $29.95

When I was growing up, the only time I learned about the history of the fur trade in school was in grade five. At that time, as I remember it, the story that was told was very superficial and largely centred around the epic legends of the Iroquois as concurrently partners and enemies to "the enterprise that built a nation."

I always wondered about those brave men who left their families and paddled for months into the wilderness, or how their families managed when their husbands and fathers were absent for sometimes as long as a decade. Jean Barman's meticulously researched narrative about the Iroquois provides a satisfying account of their emergence as a sought-after partner in advancing the fur trade westward, while the second part of her book follows four "clusters" of Iroquois whose members chose to stay in different parts of the North American West as the industry went into decline.

In the first part of *Iroquois in the West*, we learn that nearly six hundred named Iroquois from three communities around Montreal — Kahnawake, Kanesatake, and Akwesasne — appear in contract ledgers, where they represent an unknowable number of the first generation of paddlers who contracted with the North West Company during the period from 1800 to 1821. Before then, the Iroquois from these three communities had already carved a special place for themselves between the white traders and other Indigenous peoples — because they were raised with Jesuit teachings and they were literate in their own language while becoming fluent in French. Moreover, they were skilled beaver trappers, fast paddlers, and resourceful businessmen.

The Iroquois were so good that they were often paid on par with the white Canadiens, and many saw their contracts automatically renewed as they went from one term to the next. As a result, they were able to establish steady incomes that could flow directly to their families back home, and some even built up significant credits with the NWC. On the other hand, this special status sometimes worked against them — particularly while they were out west, where, Barman notes, "they did not belong from the perspectives of many of the men in charge and also of local Indigenous peoples."

Regarding the Iroquois who stayed in the West, it is likely that many continued to work in the trade as independents or free agents following the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the NWC, or they settled in with other Indigenous communities — meaning that official records of their Iroquois identity disappeared as they integrated and intermarried into new communities.

The book offers four narratives that are drawn from meticulously scoured sources and show the range of ways these Iroquois were both culturally and economically resilient. The first cluster of Iroquois is traced through Jesuit records as a group of independent traders, not named in HBC records, who travelled to present-day Montana and were determined to bring a Jesuit missionary to the Flatheads, a Salish community they encountered. A second cluster includes a group of Iroquois trappers who worked with the NWC as they pressed onward into the Pacific Northwest. Barman writes: "It soon became clear to the Iroquois that their hard work and large numbers of pelts did not equate with economic success."

Disputes between Iroquois and the HBC continued after the merger of the trading companies. Through HBC journals regarding these expeditions, Barman is able to chronicle the sequence of events that led to the departure of some Iroquois in 1825 and their return as part of the rival American Fur Company a year later — something that would effectively "upend" the fur-trading monopoly.

Remaining chapters focus on Iroquois who remained in the fur trade in places as far-flung as what are now Montana, Oregon, British Columbia, and Alberta. These Iroquois eventually disappeared as the fur trade era ended and they integrated with other local Indigenous communities in the United States and Canada.

One group, the Jasper Iroquois, settled around the fur-trading post of Jasper House in what is now Alberta. Beginning with a first wave of contractors in the early 1800s, they befriended local Indigenous peoples who were hunting and fishing in the area. They married local women, raised families, and built a community that endured but was largely unknown to outsiders for over a century — before their "place of being" was expropriated in 1910 to make way for Jasper National

Park. Their Iroquois identity was proudly reinforced from generation to generation, even though the men and their descendants no longer had direct ties to their original homeland.

How that identity has endured, as well as the determination of a people to maintain its values and independence despite considerable forces against its success, is a remarkable story that challenges our thinking about how we form and maintain our cultural identities.

Reviewed by **Deborah Morrison**, who is a past publisher of *Canada's History* magazine and is currently the president and CEO of Experiences Canada.

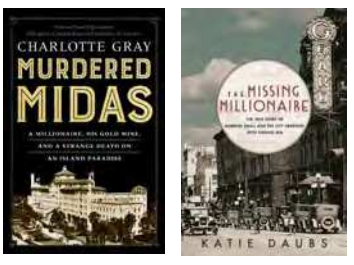
TRAGIC TYCOONS

Murdered Midas: A Millionaire, His Gold Mine, and a Strange Death on an Island Paradise

by Charlotte Gray
HarperCollins Canada,
363 pages, $33.99

The Missing Millionaire: The True Story of Ambrose Small and the City Obsessed with Finding Him

by Katie Daubs
McClelland & Stewart,
368 pages, $34.95



Was it Colonel Mustard in the drawing room with a candlestick? Or perhaps Miss Scarlet in the library with a lead pipe? Real-life murder and intrigue are not games, but I know that I'm not the only reader drawn by the thrill of a classic whodunit. Two recent books — *The Missing Millionaire* by first-time author Katie Daubs and *Murdered Midas* by established biographer Charlotte Gray — untangle stranger-than-fiction mysteries from our past.

In many ways, the protagonists of these stories are quite similar. Daubs introduces readers to Ambrose Small, a theatre magnate who built up a small empire in southwestern Ontario and seemingly disappeared into thin air in 1919 after a million-dollar payday. Gray delves into the life of Sir Harry Oakes, a real-life Midas who accumulated ostentatious wealth after striking gold in Kirkland Lake, a northern Ontario mining town. In 1943, he was found bludgeoned and burned to death, coming to a gruesome end in the bed of his Bahamas home. Two staggeringly wealthy white men, both known for their curmudgeonly, vindictive ways — one dead, one disappeared. It leads to an uncomfortable question: Why should I, a modern reader, care about the fate of these seemingly morally bankrupt members of the wealthy one per cent?

Gray tackles this reality right out of the gate, recalling the words of French writer and philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre: "A corpse is open to all comers." She sets out to reveal Oakes's complexities, good and bad, by telling his life story in detail. While Gray does not by any means present an apologist history, she reminds readers that a dead man cannot defend his own reputation. It takes her a while to get to the scandal of his death and its aftermath, but, for a reader who can appreciate context, the payoff is more than worth it.

Daubs takes a slightly different approach. Ambrose Small comes across as an up-from-the-bootstraps entrepreneur — smart, perhaps, but more wily and petty. He was a man who indulged in creature comforts and wouldn't hesitate to take down an enemy, whether for a perceived slight or to further his own ambitions. I had little sympathy for Small, but Daubs convinced me to care. That's the mark of a good storyteller.

Gray writes with the ease and narrative style of a seasoned professional, but newcomer Daubs, who is also a reporter for the *Toronto Star*, holds her own. *The Missing Millionaire* creates a portrait of 1920s Toronto with such flair and whimsy that you feel yourself instantly transported. As the mystery deepens with time, the city comes of age — a narrative hidden in plain sight adds a rich vibrancy to the book. Gray's *Murdered Midas* has the advantage of a sensational murder and its grim details, which she uses to grab readers' interest from the first sentence. Where her writing shines, however, is in her ability to maintain that momentum until the drama explodes in its third act — the murder and its investigation.

These books come alive thanks to their casts of characters, which are paraded across the page like in a good game of Clue. The main actors' motives and machinations are revealed in dramatic fashion. Daubs introduces us to the likes of Theresa Small, the almost-too-devout wife who makes a show of seeking justice; Jack Doughty, the beleaguered and suspicious secretary; Clara Smith, the lovelorn mistress; and ex-lawman Patrick Sullivan, who courts chaos and entangles himself with the slighted Small sisters. They almost seem too good to be real. But that's the best part about true crime — it's *true*.

Gray has an equally flamboyant set of players and suspects, but one stands above the rest for his notoriety. The Duke of Windsor (Edward VIII, who abdicated in 1936 for his love of the American divorcee Wallis Simpson) was the governor of Bahamas when Oakes met his untimely demise. The men were an unlikely pair, thrown together by circumstance and the isolating nature of their immense fortunes — the duke banished from the sphere of influence after he had spurned the throne, and Oakes seeking a tax haven to guard his riches. There were whispers of shady business dealings between the two men, but the real drama began at Oakes's end. The duke played an oversized role in the ensuing investigation, and Gray does not shy away from casting doubt on his intentions.

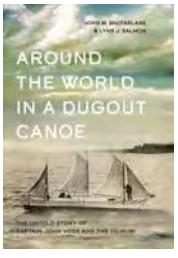
Murder and scandal weave a tangled web, and no one escapes the microscope of these writers. Questions abound, but answers are harder to find. If you're hoping to find a murderer unmasked or a disappearance resolved, these are not the books for you. Gray and Daubs may have their theories, but they are smart enough not to show their hand, instead inviting readers to sleuth alongside them. Who killed Sir Harry Oakes? Where in the world is Ambrose Small? We may never know, but, in *The Missing Millionaire* and *Murdered Midas*, the journeys are so entertaining that it makes it hard to care.

Reviewed by **Sharon Hanna**, editor of regional history at Biblioasis Press in Windsor, Ontario.

UNCHARTED WATERS

Around the World in a Dugout Canoe: The Untold Story of Captain John Voss and the Tilikum

by John M. MacFarlane
and Lynn J. Salmon
Harbour Publishing, 268 pages, $29.95



I first heard about John Voss and the *Tilikum* while working as an interpretive guide at the Whyte Museum of the Canadian Rockies in Banff, Alberta. As part of a walking tour of Banff, we would visit the historic Luxton Home on Beaver Street, where I would regale tourists with a tale of two men sailing across the Pacific Ocean in a dugout canoe in 1901.

The story went that Norman Luxton, a newspaperman originally from Winnipeg, met John Voss, a Danish-born Canadian mariner, at a bar in Victoria, B.C. Over drinks, they hatched a scheme to purchase a Nuu-chah-nulth whaling canoe, outfit it with sails, and circumnavigate the globe. While they were in the South Pacific, Luxton fell overboard. To protect himself in shark-infested waters, Luxton held on to a piece of coral reef for hours, leaving him battered, bruised, and suffering from coral poisoning (the result of exposure to a dangerous toxin). On the advice of a doctor, Luxton backed out of the rest of the journey, found a replacement mate for Voss, and returned home to Canada.

More often than not, after my presentation, someone would ask, "But what happened to John Voss? Did he finish the journey?" My response was limited; I knew that Voss made it to London, England, but I had also read about rumours of drunken fights, cannibalism, and murder.

John M. MacFarlane and Lynn J. Salmon's recent book, *Around the World in a Dugout Canoe*, tackles these questions head-on. They trace Voss's journey as he attempted the world record for the smallest vessel ever to circumnavigate the globe.

Both of the authors are nautical scholars associated with the Maritime Museum of British Columbia. In their book, MacFarlane and Salmon bypass the jargon associated with seafaring to create an exciting tale of courage and adventure. They provide a detailed account of the *Tilikum*'s route and share colourful stories about Voss and his companions. Reading episodes ranging from the dangers of colliding with other vessels, to weathering heavy gales at sea, to the occasional need for a "Colman's mustard emetic," it becomes clear that the three-and-a-half-year journey was both exhilarating and exhausting.

Around the World in a Dugout Canoe shines in its dismantling of the rumours and misinformation that have been associated with the story of the *Tilikum*. Both Voss and Luxton wrote their own accounts of the journey, and their accounts differed on many points.

Luxton's version, in particular, is rife with accusations and assumptions. Most notably, he suggests that Voss murdered the man who replaced him in the voyage. As explained by MacFarlane, this accusation has tainted the story and "been poisonously repeated by bloggers over the years without any substantiation."

In *Around the World in a Dugout Canoe*, the authors have unravelled Voss's and Luxton's competing accounts, comparing them to research from museums, libraries, and archives around the world. In doing so, they not only provide the first independent account of the journey but also a critical examination of the two people inextricably linked with the voyage. MacFarlane and Salmon are able to make compelling conclusions based on corroborating independent evidence, their in-depth knowledge of seamanship, and their understanding of the personalities involved.

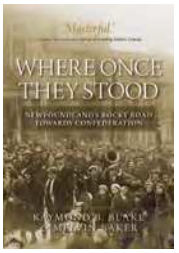
Supplemented with archival photographs, letters, and newspaper articles, *Around the World in a Dugout Canoe* is a lively read that provides an up-close portrait of Voss, whom the authors call "one of the greatest small-craft sailors of all time." They also come to their own conclusion regarding whether there was in fact a murder on the *Tilikum*.

Reviewed by **Brooke Campbell**, a program coordinator for Canada's History Society.

INFORMED UNION

Where Once They Stood: Newfoundland's Rocky Road Towards Confederation

by Raymond B. Blake and Melvin Baker
University of Regina Press,
413 pages, $34.95



Enter any gift shop in St. John's, N.L., and you will undoubtedly notice a selection of souvenirs featuring a distinct tricolour flag of pink, white, and green. While never adopted as an official flag of Newfoundland — even its origins and early uses are uncertain —

today the "republic" flag is a symbol of Newfoundland pride and independence.

The 1949 entry into Confederation of Canada's youngest province — which has since been renamed Newfoundland and Labrador — is still a part of living memory for some. It followed a divisive period that remains contested and debated even seventy years later.

In their recent book, *Where Once They Stood: Newfoundland's Rocky Road Towards Confederation*, historians Raymond B. Blake and Melvin Baker examine the province's long journey towards union with Canada. In particular, they seek to explain why Newfoundlanders rejected attempts at Confederation in the 1860s but then accepted union, albeit by a narrow margin, in 1948. They challenge popular and persistent notions that Newfoundlanders were duped into joining Confederation and instead characterize their decisions as complex, nuanced, and informed.

The now-province's story regarding Confederation began in 1864, when two delegates — Frederic Carter and Ambrose Shea — attended the Quebec Conference at the invitation of John A. Macdonald. Carter and Shea attended the proceedings merely as observers, but they returned from the conference as enthusiastic supporters for Newfoundland's union with Canada. With the two men having become serious proponents of Canadian Confederation, it is apt — and somewhat prophetic — that both appear in the famous photographs and paintings capturing the Fathers of Confederation at Quebec.

The 1869 Newfoundland general election was fought primarily on the issue of Confederation. Since 1854, Newfoundland had been a self-governing colony, like the other British colonies in North America. However, the issues that persuaded Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to join Confederation, including the threat of American expansionism and the promise of a continental railway, did not resonate in the same way with Newfoundlanders. Ultimately, the anti-confederate movement landed a strong victory, winning twenty-one of the thirty seats.

The issue of Confederation wasn't again raised in a serious way until after the Second World War. By that time, following years of economic difficulties resulting from the First World War and the Great Depression, Newfoundland had been placed under a British Commission of Government. The Second World War, however, brought renewed prosperity, and both Britain and Newfoundland agreed that it was time to reconsider Newfoundland's future.

Unlike any other province in Canada, the matter was put to the citizens of Newfoundland in two referenda in 1948. Canadian Confederation emerged as the choice of the people, receiving fifty-two per cent of the vote.

The main difference between the 1860s and the late 1940s, Blake and Baker argue, is that postwar Newfoundlanders were seeking a form of what the authors describe as "social citizenship." In Newfoundland — and in many other Western democracies in the postwar world — there was a new belief that the state should have a greater responsibility in areas like health care and social welfare, in order to "build sustainable and vibrant communities, and to achieve social cohesion."

The pro-confederates, led largely by Joseph Smallwood, campaigned widely on this issue. They took great efforts to deliver their message to families in outport communities, including, very importantly, to women. By contrast, the anti-confederate movement failed to recognize this shift in popular opinion, even going so far as to characterize Canada's social programs as immoral.

In *Where Once They Stood*, Blake and Baker take a broad political-history perspective while centring their argument on voter agency and competence. Through detailed and sophisticated research, they demonstrate that, as in the 1860s and 1940s, the power lies with the people.

Reviewed by **Joanna Dawson**, the director of programs for Canada's History Society.

MORE BOOKS

Understanding First Nations: The Legacy of Canadian Colonialism
by Ed Whitcomb
From Sea to Sea Books, 200 pages, $19.95

Any book titled *Understanding First Nations* has to acknowledge the elephant in the room, if its author is himself not Indigenous. And so, Ed Whitcomb — a white male historian, long-time public servant, and book publisher — addresses it head-on, saying in his introduction: "There is some concern about non-Indigenous historians writing Indigenous history, but in fact much excellent scholarship on these issues is produced by non-Indigenous scholars, and this book draws on all of it regardless of the ethnicity of the authors."

Whitcomb also makes his intended readership clear — non-Indigenous Canadians — and where his sympathies lie: "Many Canadians think the crimes committed in the residential schools were the exceptions; it is now clear that they were the norm," he writes. "Many Canadians think the injustices are in the past; they continue to this day from coast to coast to coast."

Understanding First Nations was written as a history primer for people who wonder why Indigenous peoples feel so wronged by Canada; it's also an indictment of the racism and mistreatment suffered by First Nations, Inuit, and Metis peoples both historically and into modern times. Chapters tackle topics such as Indigenous sovereignty, the *Indian Act*, land claims, and treaty relations.

Whitcomb speaks directly to

non-Indigenous readers, explaining how society and governments have worked to exclude and to "other" Indigenous peoples. The book's final chapter is titled "We Are All Treaty People; Where Do We Go From Here?" It's a crucial question with no easy answers.

Understanding First Nations isn't meant to be the final word on Indigenous issues. Rather, it's an accessible text that brings the "rest of Canada" up to speed on a topic of crucial importance to us all.
— *Mark Collin Reid*

Against the Current: The Remarkable Life of Agnes Deans Cameron
by Cathy Converse
TouchWood Editions, 328 pages, $30

Although she has largely been forgotten, British Columbia educator, writer, and lecturer Agnes Deans Cameron is one of those clever self-starters who energize Canada's past. A beloved teacher, and later British Columbia's first female public-school principal, Cameron was devastated when she was fired in 1905 over an improperly administered exam.

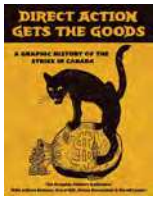
She was a charter member of the Canadian Women's Press Club, and her writing appeared in newspapers and magazines all over North America and in Great Britain. Cameron's glowing articles about the potential of the Canadian West led to a publicity job in Chicago for the Western Canada Immigration Association.

The strongest section of Cathy Converse's engaging biography *Against the Current* recounts Cameron's endurance-testing six-month trip in 1908 from Winnipeg via multiple Hudson's Bay Company posts to the Yukon Territory's Herschel Island. Cameron demonstrates her memorable turn of phrase in describing a moose she encountered: "He reminds me of nothing so much as those animals we make for the baby by sticking four matches into a sweet biscuit."

Photographs within the book include pioneering B.C. photographer Hannah Maynard's striking portrait of Cameron as a young teacher.
— *Nancy Payne*

Direct Action Gets the Goods: A Graphic History of the Strike in Canada
by The Graphic History Collective
Between the Lines, 74 pages, $14.95

1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike
by The Graphic History Collective and David Lester
Between the Lines, 125 pages, $19.19



"Art has always been an important part of the workers' movement," writes The Graphic History Collective in the opening pages of *Direct Action Gets the Goods* — a comic anthology of stories chronicling the history of the strike in Canada.

The book follows Sabo the cat, Ralph Chaplin's timeless symbol of direct action, through various events in Canadian working-class history that are seen through the vision of contributors Althea Balmes, Gord Hill, Orion Keresztesi, David Lester, Sean Carleton, and Kara Sievewright.

While each artist's style is visually distinctive, the presence of Sabo the cat helps to tie together their narratives. Their stories culminate with a historic timeline that uses spot illustrations from each artist to accentuate the important dates and moments of the Canadian labour movement.

Direct Action Gets the Goods is a concise book that helps readers gain an understanding of efforts Canadians undertook to combat unreasonable working hours, unsafe working environments, and inadequate pay. In the words of writer Noam Chomsky, "The Graphic History Collective shows us that art can inspire hope for radical social change."

Another book produced by the collective along with David Lester, *1919: A Graphic History of the Winnipeg General Strike*, uses a clever combination of words and images to provide insights into one of the formative events of the Canadian labour movement. The book explores the aftermath of early conflicts in Manitoba between the Metis people and the Canadian government, the early industrialization of Winnipeg, and the six-week general strike that culminated in the infamous day known as Bloody Saturday.

1919 uses expressive linework to add a sense of excitement that complements the compelling story of working-class men and women standing together to demand a better life in the face of powerful capitalist businessmen and unsympathetic government officials.

The use of maps and newspaper clippings helps to give a solid sense of when and where events took place. Along with an impressively illustrated, minute-by-minute breakdown of the final bloody conflict between the strikers, the Royal North West Mounted Police, and the replacement-police "Specials," these elements produce a vivid sense of how the unified workers of Winnipeg stood in determined solidarity to try to gain a better standard of living.
— *James Gillespie*

Fashioning the Canadian Landscape: Essays on Travel Writing, Tourism, and National Identity in the Pre-Automobile Era
by J.I. Little
University of Toronto Press, 339 pages, $77

Beautiful. Picturesque. Sublime. One may be tempted to use all three words to describe Canada's dynamic landscape. However, as J.I. Little points out in his essay collection *Fashioning the Canadian Landscape*, each descriptor represents a specific

aesthetic vision of Canada.

Before automobile and airplane travel opened the country to mass tourism, outside views of Canada were limited to the art and prose of predominantly British and American landscape painters and travel writers. Little, a professor emeritus of history at Simon Fraser University, posits that the majority of their works presented Canada through a "colonializing perspective" that often misinterpreted the reality of the land, its people, and their history. The result was a constructed, romanticized version of Canada that, he argues, came to deeply influence the popular conception of Canadian identity.

Little's book includes a wealth of images that illustrate the author's keen observations. His precise use of excerpts from many travel writers' books and articles — including, notably, letters from Rudyard Kipling — results in a compelling read that may change readers' perspectives on Canadian identity. — *Andrew Workman*

Montreal's Geodesic Dreams: Jeffrey Lindsay and the Fuller Research Foundation Canadian Division
edited by Cammie McAtee
Dalhousie Architectural Press,
120 pages, $39.95

The large geodesic dome designed by Buckminster Fuller and Shoji Sadao as the United States Pavilion at Montreal's Expo 67 features in many of the iconic images of that popular world's fair. Since renamed the Biosphere, the structure today houses an environmental museum and technology research centre inspired by Fuller's philosophy. But few know that its construction was in part the culmination of research into similar structures conducted in Canada by Canadians.

The book *Montreal's Geodesic Dreams* was produced along with an exhibition at the Centre de design de l'UQAM. Containing dozens of intriguing photographs, it traces the development in Canada of techniques for constructing geodesic domes, a range of anticipated and actual uses for the structures, and the fate of the Expo 67 dome.

The prototype geodesic dome Weatherbreak 08C270 at Baie-D'Urfé, Quebec, December 1950. A print of this Jeffrey Lindsay photograph was displayed as part of a 1952 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

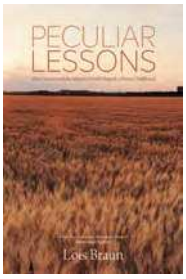
After studying with Fuller in the United States, Montrealer Jeffrey Lindsay established one of the Fuller Research Foundation's satellite offices in 1949 at his family's home next to McGill University. Both there and in suburban Montreal, Lindsay enlisted colleagues, friends, and family members in the fabrication of innovative structures. Design professor Carlo Carbone writes that the Lindsay team's 1950 construction of the prototype Weatherbreak 08C270 was "a major breakthrough in geodesic dome construction" and "the first successful practical application of Fuller's theories."

According to Carbone, students such as Lindsay "were fundamental to the FRF's development," even though their contributions were not always recognized by Fuller. Structures made by Lindsay and his collaborators soon appeared in *Architectural Forum*, the *New York Times*, and *Canadian Homes and Gardens*.

His later geodesic projects included a twenty-one-metre dome completed in 1955 to house Canadian military displays at the Pacific National Exhibition in Vancouver. The book's editor, architectural and design historian Cammie McAtee, argues that Lindsay's work in the late 1950s for the Canadian Exhibition Commission "brought geodesic domes and Canadian identity together." Lindsay also participated in the structural design of several pavilions for Expo 67, although by that time, as McAtee notes, his work increasingly involved truss structures.

A concluding essay by Réjean Legault follows the interpretations and uses of Fuller and Sadao's Expo 67 dome, including its appearances in dystopian film and television episodes and "the challenges of finding a permanent function for this improbable container." — *Phil Koch*

FONDS JEFFREY LINDSAY, CAA/AAC, COURTESY OF JASMINE LINDSAY FORMAN.



PECULIAR LESSONS

How Nature and the Material World Shaped a Prairie Childhood

by Lois Braun

Part memoir, part social history, this collection of ten essays explores the various physical and natural elements that form the backdrop to Braun's memories of growing up mid-20th century on a farm in southern Manitoba. The book highlights the value and beauty of the simple components of our surroundings that we take for granted growing up and reveals how the fascination with a "simple" thing can become a lifelong pursuit that sustains one's artistic and spiritual needs.

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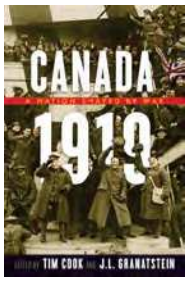

CANADA 1919

A Nation Shaped by War

edited by Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein

With compelling insight, *Canada 1919* examines the year following the Great War — a war that was, for Canada, completely unexpected in its magnitude. In the midst of relief that the killing had ended, economic and political tensions were fraught as the survivors attempted to right the country and chart a path into the future.

$34.95. HARDCOVER. 338 PGS
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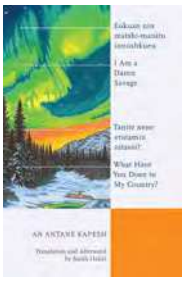

I AM A DAMN SAVAGE; WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO MY COUNTRY?

by An Antane Kapesh

Quebec author An Antane Kapesh's two books, *Je suis une maudite sauvagesse* (1976) and *Qu'as-tu fait de mon pays?* (1979), are among the foregrounding works by Indigenous women in Canada. This English translation by Sarah Henzi, with each page facing the revised Innu text, makes them available for the first time to a broader readership.

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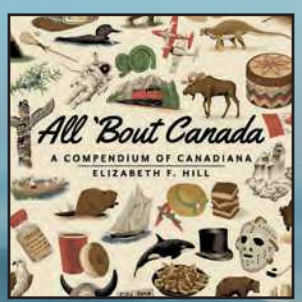

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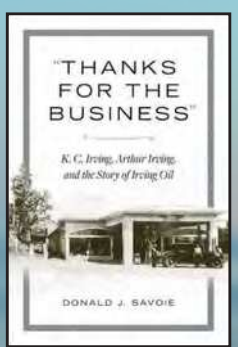

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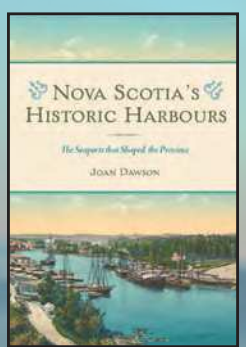

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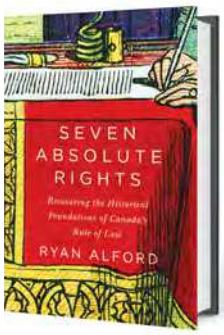

Seven Absolute Rights
Recovering the Historical Foundations of Canada's Rule of Law

RYAN ALFORD
Cloth $34.95, 264 pp

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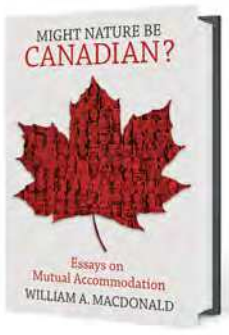
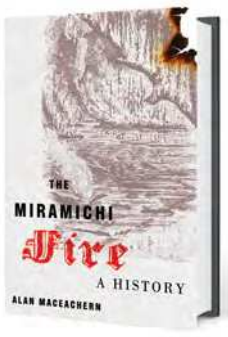


Might Nature Be Canadian?
Essays on Mutual Accommodation

WILLIAM A. MACDONALD
Cloth $37.95, 432 pp

Taking inspiration from British philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, who said, "civilization is the triumph of persuasion over force," Macdonald argues that the urgent spread of mutual accommodation, a charge led by Canada, is central to achieving a bearable world for everyone.



The Miramichi Fire
A History

ALAN MACEACHERN
Paper $34.95, 288 pp

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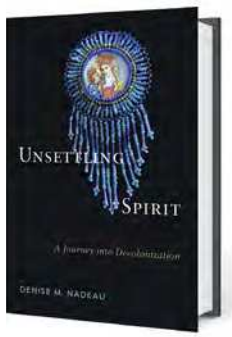

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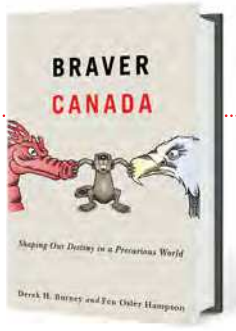

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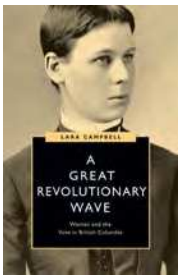

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by Lara Campbell

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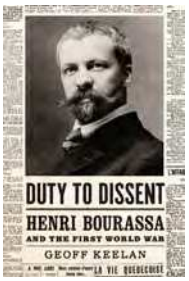

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Henri Bourassa and the First World War

by Geoff Keelan

Henri Bourassa — fierce Canadian nationalist, politician, and journalist from Quebec — took centre stage in the debates on Canada's participation in the First World War, its imperial ties to Britain, and Canada's place in the world. Geoff Keelan draws upon Bourassa's voluminous editorials in *Le Devoir*, the newspaper Bourassa founded in 1910, to trace his evolving perspective on the war's meaning and consequences.

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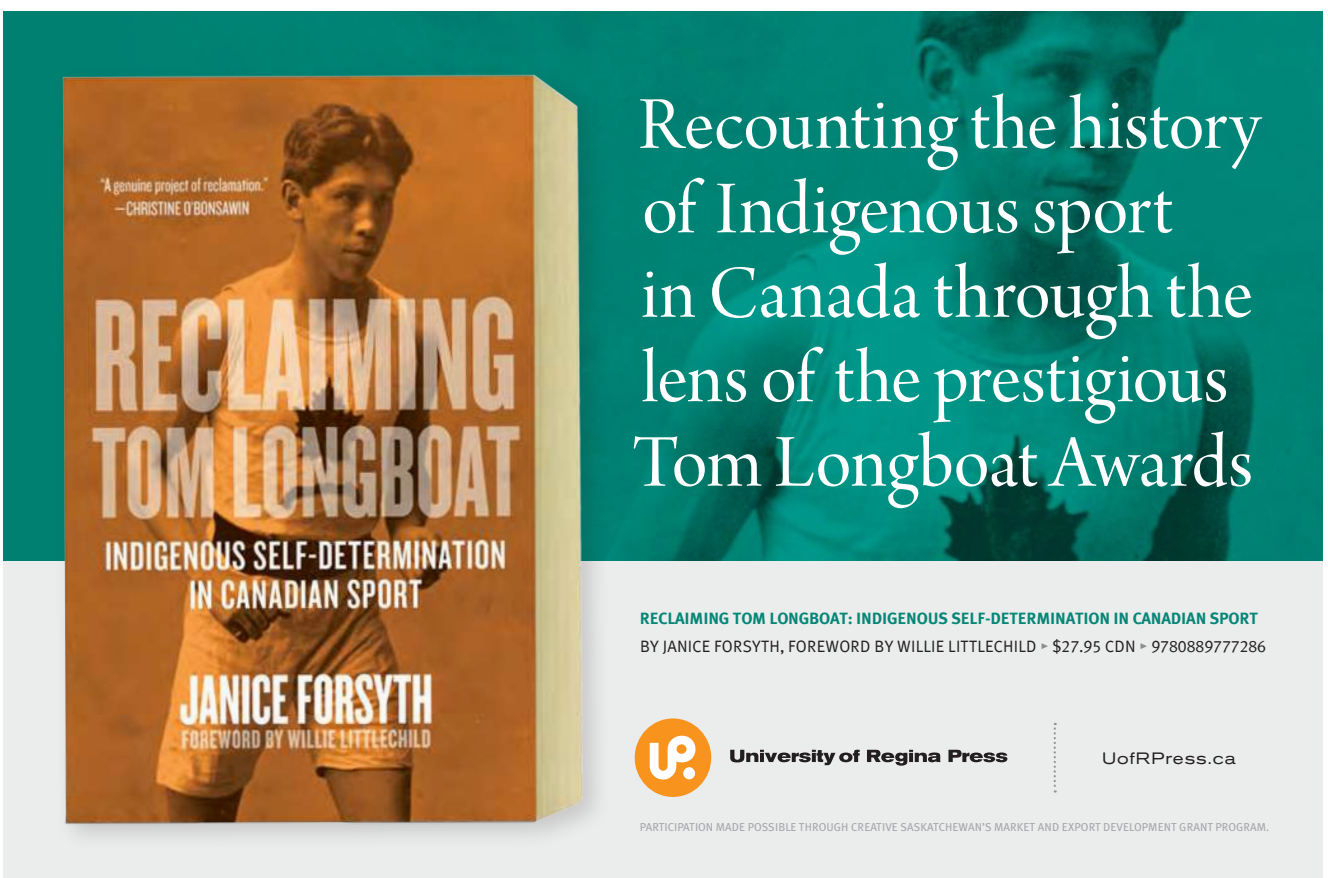
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New books from Between the Lines

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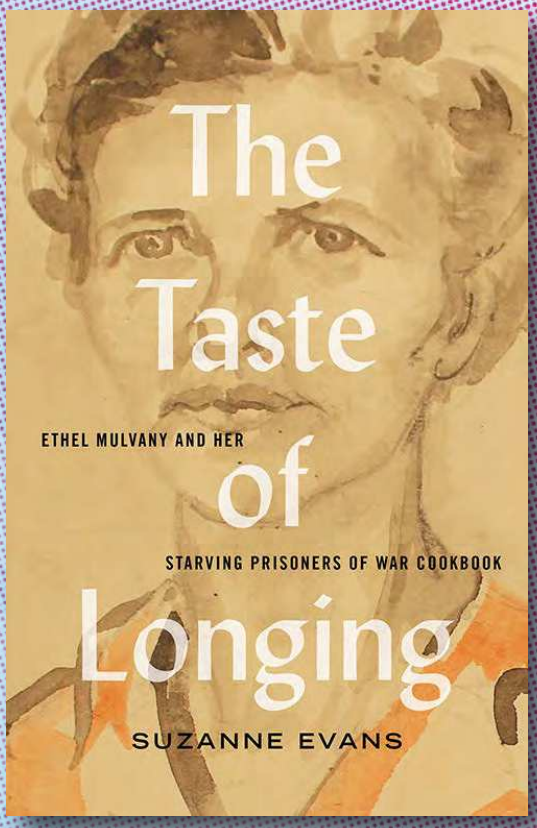
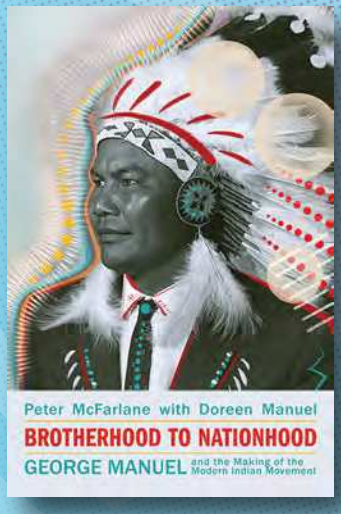
Ethel Mulvany and Her Starving Prisoners of War Cookbook

Suzanne Evans

In this novelistic, immersive biography, Suzanne Evans presents a truly individual account of WWII through the eyes of Ethel Mulvany — mercurial, enterprising, combative, stubborn, and wholly herself. *The Taste of Longing* follows Ethel through the fall of Singapore in 1942, the years of her internment, and beyond. As a prisoner, she devours dog biscuits and book spines, befriends spiders and smugglers, and endures torture and solitary confinement. As a free woman back in Canada, she fights to build a life for herself in the midst of trauma and burgeoning mental illness.

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BROTHERHOOD TO NATIONHOOD

George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement

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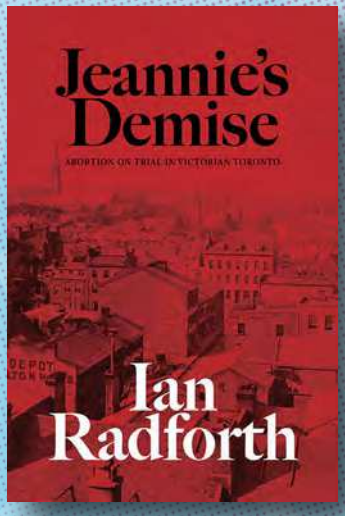
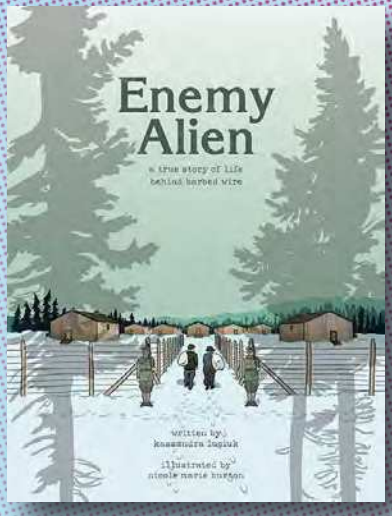


JEANNIE'S DEMISE

Abortion on Trial in Victorian Toronto

Ian Radforth



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Kassandra Luciuk and nicole marie burton

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by Esyllt W. Jones

Radical Medicine explores the personal histories of international health advocates, the history of ideas, policy debates, and political insights, as well as the role of emotion as a central force in social movements. Challenging dominant historical narratives that often depoliticize medicare's origins, Esyllt W. Jones shows that we can only understand medicare's history in a world-historical context.

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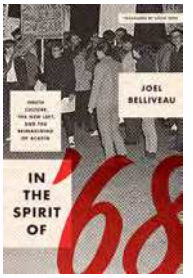

IN THE SPIRIT OF '68

Youth Culture, the New Left, and the Reimagining of Acadia

by Joel Belliveau

In 1968, students protested in the streets of Moncton, New Brunswick, shouting, "We want more French!" Drawing on student papers and rare documentary footage, Laurentian University associate professor Joel Belliveau explores what provoked these students to spark a cultural revolution on par with those in English Canada and Quebec.

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Please send us pictures etcetera so that at the celebration of our 75-year Liberation (now May 2021) we can put a picture on the grave of each soldier.

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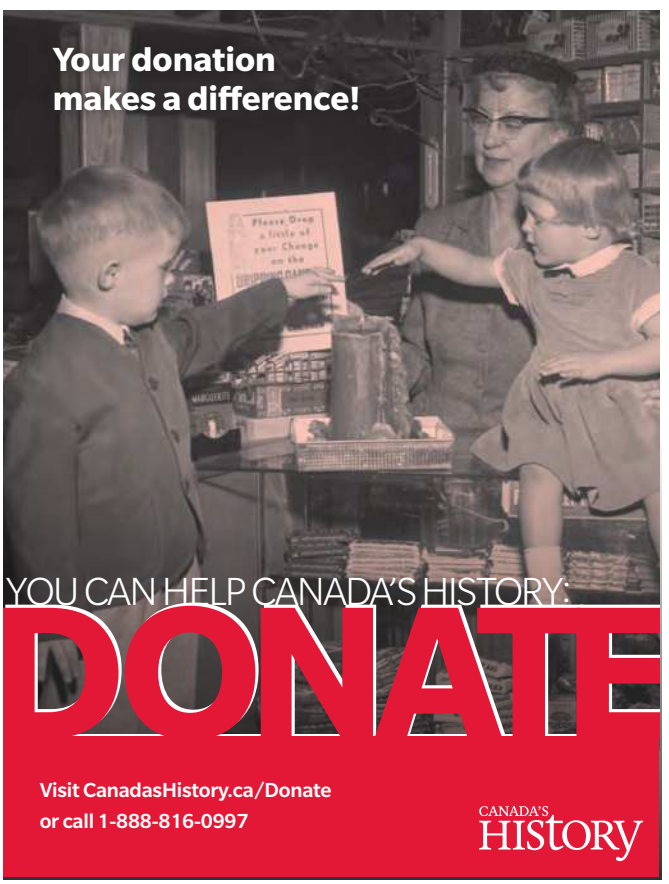

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Chemical reactions

DNA testing may expose skeletons in your closet.

by Paul Jones

Do you have the temperament to research your family history, no matter where it may lead?

I recently tracked down a fellow in New Zealand and explained my theory that he was a descendant of my grandfather's mysterious father. Would Rob (not his real name) be willing to take a DNA test to settle the question? Rob took a pass. A lifelong bachelor, he led a life that suited him fine. Genetic knowledge couldn't improve on things, but an unfortunate discovery might open a noxious can of worms.

It was hard to argue with Rob. Consider these cautionary tales we've seen in recent years:

Secret adoption: In January 2018, a Nevada television station told the story of a sixty-six-year-old man who had recently learned that he'd been abandoned at birth. His loving mom and dad hadn't disclosed that they were adoptive parents. The man has since suffered from bouts of post-traumatic stress disorder.

Undisclosed sperm donation: An August 2019 editorial article in the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "A DNA test told me my dad was a sperm donor. Learning this as an adult upended my life." A similar 2018 story on CBC Television concluded that anonymity in these matters is effectively dead.

Unexpected ethnic origins: DNA can reveal uncomfortable truths about ethnic origins. Such was the case for an African-American woman quoted in The *New York Times Magazine*. "Two percent African? I thought, Well, who am I then? … I was afraid people would think I was a fraud. I was so disappointed, and I didn't believe it, because how could I not be black? I'd lived black. I was black."

Hanky-panky: In 2019, a post on the online forum Reddit reported that a user had figured out that her maternal grandma had cheated on grandpa. Both the Reddit member and her mother were clearly descended from another man, one of thousands of cases of misattributed paternity that have been revealed by consumer DNA testing in the past few years.

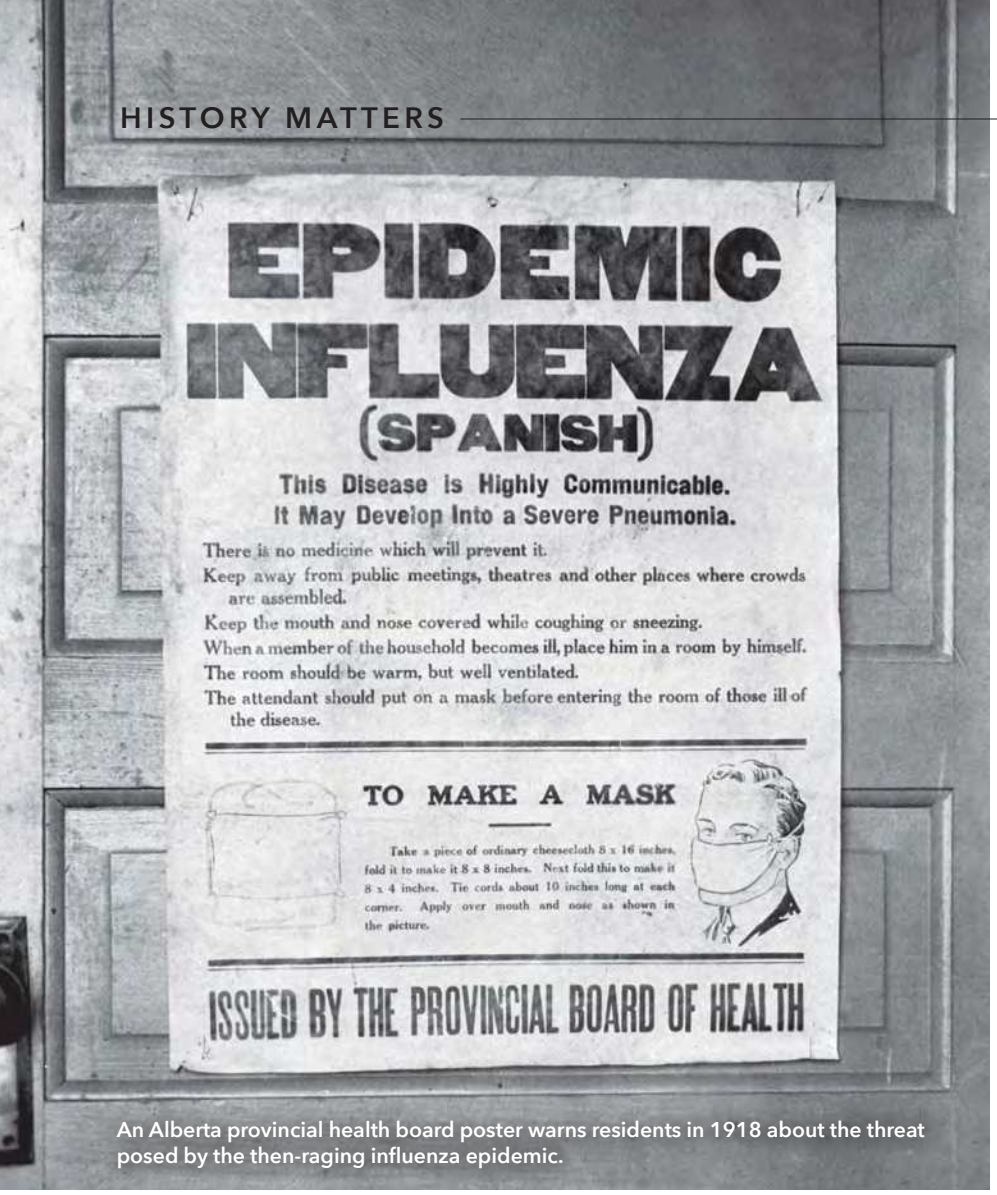
Medical malfeasance or error: The real medical world's seamy secrets are also being exposed. A fertility doctor was discovered to have personally fathered dozens of children with his unsuspecting patients. In other cases, hospitals have mixed up babies at birth, with the errors detected decades later, and, in one case, after more than a century.

Family historians have been shooing skeletons out of closets for generations without the need for DNA. They've known that every family tree has just-in-time marriages, its flibbertigibbets, and drunkards. Some have murderers, rapists, rum-runners, or slave owners. The documentary record is clear in many cases.

Yet there's no doubt that DNA testing has become a flashpoint for discomfort. The marvel is not that Rob declined to be tested but that two of his cousins later agreed. Rob made the right call for his circumstances. He agreed with my distant relative who once chided me, "let the dead stay dead!"

That's not the way most genealogists look at things. Our credo is more along the lines of "let the dead live on in our thoughts." As for that distant relative, let's just say that her closet was skeletally challenged.

Paul Jones, a retired publisher, is a writer, a consultant, and an avid genealogist.


EPIDEMIC
INFLUENZA
(SPANISH)
This Disease is Highly Communicable.
It May Develop Into a Severe Pneumonia.
There is no medicine which will prevent it.
Keep away from public meetings, theatres and other places where crowds are assembled.
Keep the mouth and nose covered while coughing or sneezing.
When a member of the household becomes ill, place him in a room by himself.
The room should be warm, but well ventilated.
The attendant should put on a mask before entering the room of those ill of the disease.
TO MAKE A MASK
Take a piece of ordinary cheesecloth 8 x 16 inches, fold it to make it 8 x 8 inches. Next fold this to make it 8 x 4 inches. Tie cords about 10 inches long at each corner. Apply over mouth and nose as shown in the picture.
ISSUED BY THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF HEALTH

An Alberta provincial health board poster warns residents in 1918 about the threat posed by the then-raging influenza epidemic.

Reassurance and resilience

Canada's teachers are helping students to cope with the upheaval caused by COVID-19.

by Joanna Dawson

At the time of printing this issue of *Canada's History*, the COVID-19 pandemic is spreading throughout the globe.

Canada is at the early stages of dealing with the virus, and everyday life has been altered immensely. We do not yet know when the crisis will pass and when life will return to normal.

For Canada's youth, a major impact of the pandemic has been the closure of schools. Students have lost their daily routines, extracurricular activities, and access to safe spaces upon which many rely. Learning is being moved online, but this can't replicate the full educational experience that students gain in our classrooms and schools.

Students often turn to their teachers in a time of crisis, and Canada's History Society is doing the same.

To help us navigate this difficult situation, we've sought guidance from some of the past recipients of the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching. How can history help us to better understand our world at such a time? How can we support our children during a time of exceptional change and disruption?

Many teachers noted that we can find echoes of this world in the past events that they teach about and share with students. The 1918–20 flu pandemic, also known as the Spanish flu, offers likely the most striking comparison. In Canada, it's estimated that approximately fifty thousand people died from that pandemic, and life was similarly disrupted. The Seven Oaks School Division in Winnipeg has created an online resource to help students think critically and historically about both the 1918–20 pandemic and the COVID-19 pandemic. To access the resource, go to: CanadasHistory.ca/7Oaks.

Manon St-Hilaire, who teaches at Ste-Thérèse-de-l'Enfant-Jésus school in Saint-Jérôme, Quebec, also sees parallels to the turmoil caused by the world wars, during which Canadians on the home front experienced enormous upheaval and restrictions on everyday life.

"It would be interesting to draw parallels [between these events]," St-Hilaire said, adding that we can explore themes of "solidarity, leadership, mourning, sacrifice, and fear."

Some teachers wonder whether living through this historically significant event will help today's students to feel closer to the past. Lucie Jean-Mercier, who teaches at l'Académie Lafontaine in Saint-Jérôme hoped that "historical consciousness will be transformed." She noted that "the student now has an emotional reference point that will help reduce the distance between the past and the present."

Rob Bell, who teaches at Dundas Central Public School in Dundas, Ontario, agreed. "Like many teachers around the world, I am not able to be with my students at this time," he said. "If I was with my grade five and six students, I would

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From left, recipients of the Governor General's History Award for Excellence in Teaching: Manon St-Hilaire (2014), Lucie Jean-Mercier (2013), Rob Bell (2019), Armand Doucet (2017), and Greg Miyanaga (2006).

ask each of them to watch and remember what they see and how they feel, and I would encourage them to record these observations each day."

Above all else, however, teachers are committed to ensuring that the young people in their lives feel safe in this uncertain world. Armand Doucet, who teaches at Riverview High School in Riverview, New Brunswick, said that the most important thing teachers can do during times of crisis is to ensure that students feel a sense of love and belonging. "We need to think about the social connections for our students, especially for the younger age groups," he said.

Greg Miyanaga teaches at Smiling Creek Elementary in Coquitlam, B.C.

He offered three ways we can support students during challenging times: providing reassurance by acknowledging children's feelings and letting them know there are things they can do to help; offering resilience and resourcefulness by assuring them that we can all adapt to change, no matter how drastic or unexpected; and recreating community by taking care of each other and showing that we all still belong.

Canada's History thanks all the teachers who have shared their advice for navigating these uncertain times.

Joanna Dawson is director of programs for Canada's History Society. For more, visit: CanadasHistory.ca/TeachingCovid19.

OUR PAST SHAPES OUR FUTURE • NOTRE PASSÉ TRANSFORME NOTR FUTUR •

THESE ARE HISTORIC TIMES

Canadians have faced many extraordinary challenges over the years. These moments have enormous power to bring people together. They offer opportunities to share our stories and to build greater understanding about ourselves and each other. History can serve as a beacon of hope; it shows us that all challenges can be overcome by caring for, and about, each other.

All of us at Canada's History Society are working hard to ensure the stories of Canada's past are widely shared. We are in this for and with you. We are deeply grateful to you as loyal readers, subscribers, and supporters. You make it possible for us to reach 1.4 million Canadians in print and online, even in times of challenge.

Thank you for your valued support.

PHOTOS COURTESY ARMAND DOUCET; DENIS DUQUETTE; GREG MIYANAGA; REBECCA BUSSETT

Moving day

The above photograph of two men working beside automobiles was made sometime between 1915 and 1918. It shows my grandfather Wellington "Walley" Buckley and his brother Tom behind the Buckley home on Sixteenth Street in Brandon, Manitoba. On the back of the photograph my grandfather wrote, "Tom & I taking a 45 barrel tank and water trough to the cattle farm on the autos." The men have just finished loading the large items, and Tom is making a final adjustment to the rope securing the trough. The second photograph, on the right, shows the car with the tank on the way to the Buckley farm, which was about eleven kilometres northeast of Brandon. The automobiles are McLaughlins. Unfortunately, there are no photos of the men in the process of loading or unloading the tank, which must have been interesting.

Submitted by Chloe Clark of Burnaby, B.C., the granddaughter of Wellington Buckley.

Do you have a black-and-white or colour photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location, details about people appearing in the photograph, and further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be adjusted for presentation in the magazine.

CANADA'S HISTORY SOCIETY

The importance of understanding Canada by examining the histories of its peoples has been an anchoring belief of Canada's History Society. Established in 1994 through the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation, we bring relevance and awareness to our nation's diverse past, illuminating the people, places, and events that unite us as Canadians.

The society's work includes: *Canada's History* magazine, *Kayak: Canada's History Magazine for Kids*, CanadasHistory.ca, and the Governor General's History Awards.

SOCIÉTÉ HISTOIRE CANADA

L'importance de comprendre notre propre identité par le truchement de l'histoire est au cœur de la philosophie de la Société Histoire Canada. Le travail de la Société, fondée en 1994 grâce au généreux soutien de la Fondation d'histoire de la Compagnie de la baie d'Hudson, consiste à faire connaître le passé diversifié de notre pays et à l'ancrer dans le contexte actuel, mais également à mettre en valeur les gens, les lieux et les événements qui nous unissent en tant que Canadiens.

La Société offre notamment aux Canadiens le magazine *Histoire Canada*, le magazine *Kayak : Navigue dans l'histoire du Canada*, le site HistoireCanada.ca et les Prix d'histoire du Gouverneur général.

CANADA'S HISTORY HISTOIRE CANADA Kayak

HBC Corporate Collection. Used with permission. *Chief Trader Archibald McDonald Departing the Forts, 1828* by Adam Sherriff Scott, ca. 1942.

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